



SAPPHO AND THE ISLAND OF LESBOS

BY
MARY MILLS PATRICK

THIS little monograph reproduces the famous poetess in the picturesque island of Lesbos. It places her life in an historical setting amid the customs and manners of her age, surrounded by her contemporaries. It describes her work at the head of a school of poetry and music in Mitylene, the 'House of the Muses,' and ruthlessly sweeps away many vulgar estimates of her character. The book contains a translation of the fragments of her poems, including those recently discovered, and is richly illustrated by views of Lesbos and copies of busts and coins of Sappho.

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SAPPHO
AND THE ISLAND OF LESBOS



SAPPHO

From the bust in the Galleria Geographica, in the Vatican, Rome

SAPPHO

AND THE ISLAND OF LESBOS

BY

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WITH TWENTY-SIX ILLUSTRATIONS



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TO
PAULINE ADELINE DURANT

ERRATA

PAGE

- 5 For *Orpheos* read *Orpheus*.
6 For *Orpheos* read *Orpheus*.
34 For *O Father Jupiter* read *O Father Zeus*.
121 For *Berliner Klassiker texts* read *Berliner
Klassikertexte*.
158 (No. 76) For *Erinna* read *Eranna*.
170 (7th line) For *satisfied* read *didst satisfy*.
173 Notes. Chapter I. For *Thukidydes* read *Thu-
kydides*.
174 Chapter III. For *Thukid.* read *Thuk.*

PREFACE

THE islands in the Eastern Mediterranean are full of associations with the classical literature and history of the Greek nation. Asia Minor and the Grecian Archipelago are practically unchanged in their physical appearance since ancient times. One may go there to dream of a bygone age—the wonderful age of the beginnings of poetry and philosophy—and there live over again the free life of the past, surrounded by that beauty of nature which in the soul of the Greeks was transformed into beauty of thought and word. For lovers of Greek poetry this little volume is written.

The photographs of Lesbos used in

illustrating this book were partly taken by the author during a recent visit to the island. Thanks are, however, due for some of the finest of the views to Ernest L. Harris, American Consul in Smyrna, who has made a large collection of photographs of archæological interest in connection with his studies in Asia Minor.

Thanks are also due to Herr Dr. F. Bruckmann, of the Photographic Union in Munich, and to the authorities of the British Museum in London, and to M. Jean de Fovill, of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, for their kindness in enabling the author to obtain copies of ancient coins and works of art which furnish pictures of Sappho.

An original translation of the existing fragments of Sappho's poems is appended. This translation has been made with the help of Dr. Louisos Eliou and Dr. Michael Michaelides, of

the University of Athens. Dr. Roxana H. Vivian, of Wellesley College, and a friend from the University of Aberdeen have also given valuable assistance in the translation of the Greek fragments.

An attempt has been made to use as far as possible Greek spelling for Greek proper names.

Mr. J. M. Edmonds, sometime scholar of Jesus College, Cambridge, England, has edited the text of the fragments recently discovered of Sappho's poems with critical notes. Mr. Edmonds has very kindly allowed the author to make her own translation of these fragments as given in his book published by Deighton, Bell & Co., Cambridge.

MARY MILLS PATRICK

CONSTANTINOPLE, TURKEY

September, 1912

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SAPPHO

AND THE ISLAND OF LESBOS

CHAPTER I

THE AGE OF SAPPHO

THE age of Sappho was one of intellectual activity. Its echoes have come down to us through the poets, through Æsop, the Seven Wise Men, and many others. Like the age of Perikles it stands out in the history of the Greeks as a period of great freedom in individual development, and it was also an era characterized by material progress and vigorous colonization.

Much that was vital in that age has been for ever lost to us, but enough remains to justify the present attempt to re-create something of the religious, intellectual, and social life of a phase of

human development so far removed from our own.

It was near the end of the seventh century B.C. when Sappho was born in the island of Lesbos, which is the Mitylene of to-day.¹ The centre of the world in her time was Delphi in Greece, where the Pythian oracle spoke directly to men, and through whose influence Greece kept the allegiance of her colonies. The oracles of Delphi and Dodona in Greece took precedence of local authorities, although Lesbos had many temples of her own famous oracles, and the archaic temple of Diana at Ephesus had been erected near by on the shore of Asia Minor, and already wielded an influence that was felt on the life of the whole region.

It was an age deeply permeated by religious feeling, as architecture, music, poetry, and social customs all testify. The lightning flash was the glance of a god, the thunder was the sound of his voice, and much of

the happiness of life depended upon the gods of hospitality and private friendship. Shrines and temples filled every city, and stood at the corner of the mountain-paths and surmounted the hills, while art and architecture struggled into being in order to provide places of worship worthy of the gods.² The gold of Lydia was beautiful because it might ornament a temple, or be moulded into a life-sized figure of some goddess who presided there. The service of Aphrodite, Hera, Apollo, Athene and many other gods and goddesses was a part of the daily life of the people. Dionysos was worshipped with especial joy, which could not have been otherwise in a place where the juice of the grape was so delicious and so abundant, and naturally Eros was strong where Dionysos reigned.

The best of the flocks and herds were offered in sacrifice. The finest of the fruits of the earth were deemed hardly worthy to be placed on the altar before

the gods, and on every occasion of joy or triumph a temple was erected.

Historians tell us that Lesbos was adorned with temples dim with dusky gold and bright with ivory, but this was a development of later times, for the buildings of Sappho's age were primitive in form and ornamentation. Yet even then religious architecture was influenced by the love of the people for beauty. The love of beauty was a part of the religious expression of the Greeks, and sensitiveness to radiant scenes of nature, and consuming fervour of personal feelings assumed nobler proportions, and received more illustrious expression in the lyrics of the island of Lesbos, in the early centuries of its history than was the case in any other part of Hellas, or period of Greek life. The people hungered and thirsted for beauty, and the result of this attitude was unusual intensity of feeling in religious and literary expression.

It is difficult to judge the intellectual

activity of the time of Sappho by modern standards. It was greater, perhaps, in some respects among the common people than it has been in any other period of history. Thinkers of Sappho's age expressed their ideas about their deepest experiences more freely than do modern writers. They sought to do this through music and poetry, especially through a combination of both of these forms of expression, trying to reveal their ideals in musical words and sounds ; therefore, while we may say that their experience was incomplete, their expression was comparatively adequate. Judged by this standard, one of the most vigorous intellectual ages of the world began with Homer and ended with Pindar ; this period included the time of Sappho.

The early forms of poetry accompanied by music are closely connected with the island. There is an old legend that the head and the lyre of Orpheos, the famous mythical poet, were carried

by the waves of the Ægean to the shore of Lesbos, and that here was the primitive seat of the music of the lyre.

The musical gifts of the Lesbians might thus seem theirs by right of inheritance, for Orpheos is said to have had such power in song that he could thereby move trees and rocks and tame wild beasts.

The music³ of Lesbos was primarily the expression of the deep religious life of the age, and its earliest form in worship was a kind of solo called a *nomos* on the flute or cithara, accompanying a poem in praise of some divinity. The pure *nomos* might be called a tone painting, and resembled a chant in its simplest form. The early musical instruments of the Greeks were different from those of the Orientals in not having any keyboard, for which reason there were only as many tones as the number of strings possessed by the instrument. While therefore music was used equally with poetry in public and

in private, there was a great contrast in the quality of these two forms of expression of the thought and feelings of the time ; for while the poetry was transcendent, the music was extremely primitive. There may have been, however, a peculiar sweetness of tone arising from the form of the instrument that compensated for the lack of harmony. In Lesbos, in the seventh century B.C., the cithara was preferred for public occasions, and the lyre, a smaller instrument and easier to hold, was more commonly used in daily life. Later many varieties of stringed instruments came into use ; one of these, called the magadis,⁴ was greatly in vogue in the island, and there was an old statue in the city representing one of the muses playing on that instrument. A similar instrument was called the pektis, which Sappho is said to have invented. Both instruments were played by the fingers directly.

Worship of the gods by a trained

chorus was introduced very early into the ritual of the Greeks, and the chorus was accompanied by the flute and by stringed instruments. The Æolian harmony is described as elevated and fearless, in contrast with that of other parts of Greece, for each region had its own characteristic music.

The prominence given to music in daily life was not confined to the worship of the gods, but was noticeable in all social customs. It accompanied the reciting of poems, which was a very common entertainment among the Greeks, and festivities of all kinds were characterized by an abundance of music.

At feasts the guests often drank the common mixture of water and wine to the accompaniment of music. It was held that the music of the lyre and the harp would add to all kinds of pleasure, and prevent drunkenness and gluttony. The lyre, especially, was regarded as a moral teacher, and if anyone at any time felt himself losing his temper he would take

up his lyre and play to calm his feelings. Not only, however, was music supposed to sharpen and improve the intellect, soften the disposition, and dissipate sadness, but it was believed that it had the power even to heal disease. Music was a method of mental and moral instruction, and helped to form the character. It was not a luxury, but a necessity. It did not develop passion, but controlled it; and was appealed to upon all occasions to harmonize any discordant conditions that happened to exist.

Martial music also played a prominent part then as now, for it was the custom for soldiers to march to the sound of music, although the instruments were different from those now used. An old historian gives us a graphic picture of the marching of a Greek army to the music of many flute-players, who played in unison that the soldiers might march evenly and in true measure.⁵

The period of intellectual activity

during which Sappho lived lasted but little more than a century, but had a greater effect on the lyrics of the world than all the rest of Greek poetry. Books did not exist in Lesbos till later, but the poems and the music of very early days were preserved in the memory of the people, while about the time of Sappho the custom became general of writing on tablets of wood sometimes overlaid with wax. The fine parchment made in Pergamos, was of a late origin, and the different forms of papyrus were not brought at so early a period to the islands of the Ægean.

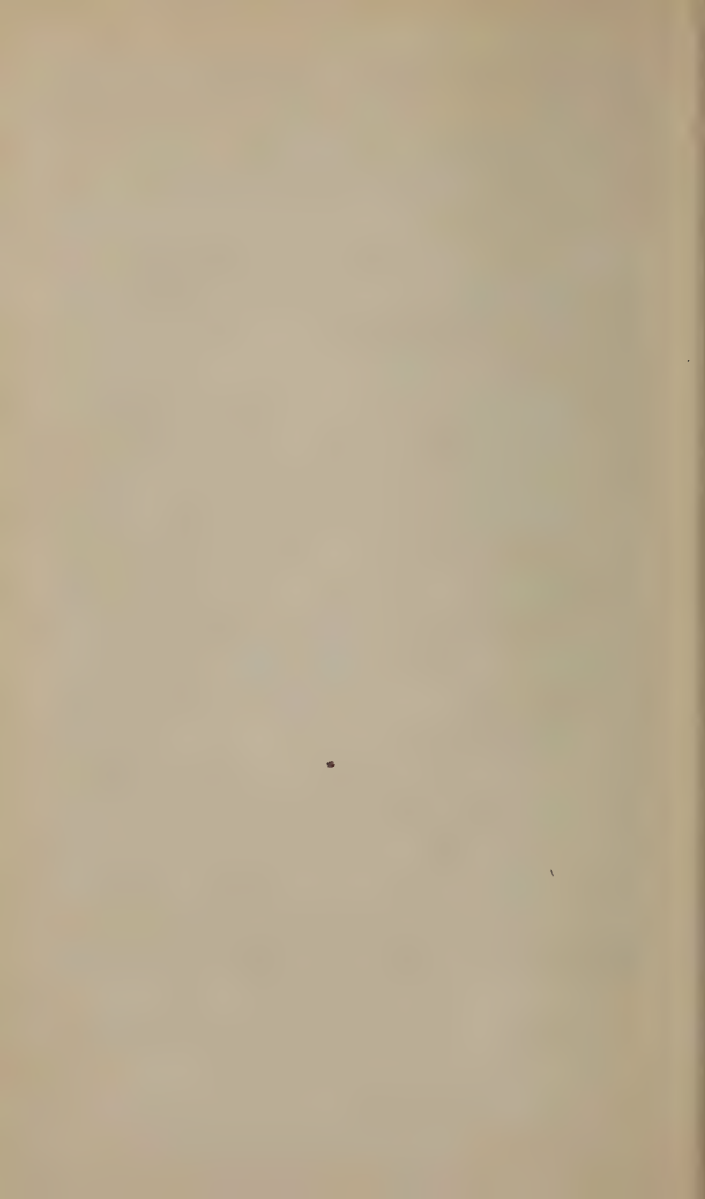
There could not have been a well-developed educational system, yet we get an idea of the importance in which learning was held by the fact that a law was made by Pittakos prohibiting criminals from educating their children in the common schools of the island.

Sculpture,⁶ although primitive, had been developed more than one would naturally suppose. In the time of the



BASE OF SCULPTURED COLUMN IN THE ARCHAIC TEMPLE OF DIANA
AT EPHESUS

Now in the British Museum



poet Hipponax, in the latter part of the sixth century, there were two brothers in the island of Chios who were famous sculptors, and who had inherited their ability from their father and grandfather. Many of the works of this family were to be found long after in both Lesbos and Chios. Monuments were used to mark the graves, ornamented with figures, carved with some skill, and sirens on the tombs represented mourning in Lesbos as in other parts of the Greek world.

The dead were sometimes cremated and sometimes buried. Erinna says in an epigram, which represents the deceased as speaking—

“O pillars and sirens mine, and thou sad urn,
that containest within thee my scanty ashes.”

And again, in an epigram for a girl who had died, whose name was Agatharchis—

“There are men equal in skill to [the gods], for
verily if whoever it was that painted this maiden’s

form had given it a voice as well, it would be Agatharchis' own self."

In the present age iron is considered an ugly though useful metal, but in Sappho's time it was quite the contrary. The darker metal had just come into use, and was thought to be almost as beautiful as gold. A man in the island of Chios had learned how to make vessels of inlaid iron, and had a saucer sent to Delphi as an offering. Alyattes, king of Lydia and father of Cræsus, who lived in Sappho's era, honoured the work of this man, whose name was Glaucos, to the extent of ordering from him an elaborate stand of soldered iron, which was seen at Delphi by Pausanias in the second century A.D.⁷ He tells us that it was a tower in shape of a truncated cone, which had open sides crossed with bars of iron of delicate shape. There were small figures carved on the tower and friezes of animals and plants. This was sent to Delphi, accompanied by a large silver bowl, which

Alyattes considered a more ordinary gift.

The country was built up with what the ancient writers considered good houses, although they would have appeared very poor and insignificant to people of a more advanced age. Most of the citizens possessed town and country residences, and the dwellings of the rich and great contained many treasures brought from Egypt and Assyria, or made in Lydia. Herodotos tells us that there were beds of gold and silver, and he also describes a vase of delicately wrought gold, surmounted by a graceful boy, through whose golden hand the water flowed. Doubtless this had many companions.

Lesbos was in Sappho's time within easy reach of two sources of influence of older and more advanced civilization. One of these was Naukratis,⁸ in Egypt, where the Greeks were allowed to settle and trade, and to erect altars and temples to their gods, a privilege of which

many young merchants of Lesbos took advantage.⁹ This resulted in the introduction of various new inventions into the island, and better methods of carrying on the simple industries of the time.

The great eastern court of the Lydian monarchy in Sardis also was not far away, and references to Lydia in the fragments of Sappho show us that the people of Lesbos were familiar with the luxuries and splendours of the court of Cræsus ¹⁰ in his princely capital.

Every Greek city in those early days had its agora or market-place, which was always in a prominent part of the town. It was here that the people gathered to discuss all subjects of interest. These discussions were often very exciting, and were accompanied by much gesticulating, and took the place in the life of the people of the books and newspapers of modern times.

The Lesbian women mixed freely with

male society. They were free, according to the custom of their age, to frequent all parts of the island, and to pursue whatever interests they chose. Slavery existed to a certain degree, although not quite in the form of the later Athenian custom. Slaves were gained through conquest in war from the earliest times. The people of Chios, however, an island not far from Lesbos, were the first who purchased slaves with money, and in a very early period of their history the Chians ¹¹ were celebrated for their great abundance of domestic slaves ; in later times the three most important slave markets were at Delos, Chios, and Byzantium. The slaves bought with money were not Greeks but barbarians. It was customary in ancient society for slaves to perform all menial work, and Lesbos was doubtless no exception in this respect. It is certain that women of position in the Greek islands were relieved from much of the harder work of household management, and could

give their time to music and poetry, and to long strolls through the beautiful country surrounding their primitive homes. They were as well educated as the men, and were accustomed to express their sentiments to an extent almost unknown elsewhere in the history of the Greeks.

When a guest entered the home of a Lesbian, the maidens of the household came forward to meet him, bearing a golden ewer filled with soft, cool water from one of the celebrated springs in the island, a silver laver, and towels of the finest linen. The water was poured over the hands of the guest, and also, if desired, over his feet. This was done so deftly and daintily that the finest garments would not be injured by the process. Then rich perfumes were poured over the hands, and the guest was crowned with garlands of lilies, violets, and other flowers. In describing this delightful custom an ancient poet¹² says :—

“And then the slaves brought water for the hands and soap well mixed with oily juice of lilies, and poured over the hands as much warm water as the guests wished. And then they gave them towels of finest linen, beautifully wrought, and fragrant ointments of ambrosial smell, and garlands of the flow’ring violet.”

When the hour for the feast arrived this process was sometimes repeated, and was always repeated after the feast.

Wine was generally mixed with water on social occasions. It was poured into the water, but the water was never poured into the wine. People in the East have in all ages laid great stress on the kind of water used for drinking, both in regard to its flavour and weight, and great attention was paid to the water that was mixed with the wine. Each guest had a separate drinking-cup, which must be filled to the brim, so that it was said to be crowned with wine. Before drinking, libations were poured to the gods. The wine of Lesbos was very famous, and was considered by

many to be superior to all other. One writer of the time said :—

“ All men think

The Lesbian is the nicest wine to drink.”

Even the Seven Wise Men gave banquets, and music and flowers crowned every feast. Chance allusions of ancient writers tell us that in the island of Lesbos the people ate crusts of bread soaked in wine at sunrise, with a substantial meal at about ten o'clock, while the feasting usually began later in the day. A small three-legged table was used for a single guest; if there were more guests, then larger tables were used. The guests sat upright on couches, as the custom of reclining at meals was introduced later. The people lived largely on fish, although beef, pork, and other kinds of meat were eaten. Oysters, tunny-fish, and cuttle-fish were much appreciated, served with different kinds of sauces. Snails were eaten in the island then as now, and

were no doubt considered a great delicacy. Onions and lettuce were much in favour, and at some feasts onions formed the first course. There was also a kind of bread called the "twice-baked bread,"¹³ and this, with cheese-cakes, honey, figs, pomegranates, pears, almond and pistachio nuts, constituted the principal delicacies of the time. Cakes were made of wheat-flour, honey, sesame, and cheese, and sometimes oil was added. For nightly revels a kind of cake was made of bruised wheat, honey, and cheese, and given to the man who succeeded in keeping awake all night, which would seem to indicate that even in the good old days banquets might sometimes be rather dull affairs. In the islands of the *Ægean* nectar was used as a very honourable beverage after a feast.¹⁴ It was made by mixing wine and honey-combs and the most fragrant flowers together, and partook at the same time of both sweetness and fragrance. It

does not appear to have been considered proper to remain too long at a banquet, but guests were expected to ask leave of their entertainers before their departure.

The habits and customs of Sappho's age, which were engendered by the natural and permanent conditions of Lesbos, still survive in a large measure in the Mitylene of to-day, but those which were created to comply with transient and artificial needs have long since passed away and have been forgotten.

CHAPTER II

SOME OF SAPPHO'S CONTEMPORARIES

AFTER the heroic or legendary period of Greek history, of which Homer and Hesiod are the chief exponents, and which ended about the beginning of the first Olympiad, there came a period which extended over three centuries, in which the real thought-life of the Greeks properly speaking begins. The Greek mind is awakening. It is a time of great political disturbances; the heroic monarchy by right divine becomes the oligarchy, the oligarchy the tyranny, and the tyranny is in many cases succeeded by the democracy or constitutional monarchy. Colonization from the mother cities of Greece has begun in Italy, Sicily, Africa, along the Gulf of

Lyons, in Asia Minor, and the islands of the Ægean. The law-givers arise; Thebes receives a constitution, and Lycurgos and Solon form the states of Sparta and Athens. The Seven Sages are foremost in diffusing wisdom throughout the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean. The epic is being supplanted by the beginnings of lyric, satiric, moral, and philosophic poetry. Prose begins to be cultivated, and the drama has its inception, although the poets are the leaders in the thought of the Greeks until the era of Sokrates.

No great light ever appears alone, but there are always lesser lights before and after, like the dawn and twilight of a full day; Sappho was a genius, but she was not the only one of her age, and had many renowned contemporaries. In speaking of them we wish to include those who immediately preceded and followed her, and those who prefigured the life of her day or were the product of it.

Sappho's greatest contemporary from



ARCHAIC UNDRAPED FIGURES FROM THE GREEK ISLANDS, DATE UNKNOWN,
PROBABLY 7TH CENT. B.C.
Now in the British Museum

the point of view of statesmanship was Pittakos. From the seventh century onwards we find autocrats springing up in all the chief Greek cities, but the only one who concerns us here is Pittakos, who became a constitutional autocrat or dictator for the public safety in Lesbos, at the time in which Sappho lived. He was the leader of the democratic party, and gained the confidence of his fellow-townsmen to such a degree that he was finally made ruler of the city of Mitylene,¹ the people loudly singing his praises with one voice at the time of the election. Although chosen by the people, he was given the unlimited power usually granted to governors appointed for a limited time. Such governors were called *æsymnetes*.

Pittakos was the pride of Mitylene. He was somewhat of a philosopher, as his sayings testify, and he especially played the rôle of a moral reformer and teacher. Mitylene had won great commercial prosperity through her trade in

olives and wine, and the nobles were wealthy and luxurious, and had become dangerous leaders. These Pittakos banished, and brought about reforms in every direction, proving himself a wise law-giver and a firm but kind dictator. He revised the legal code of the city, and made many new laws, among others one against intemperance, which was greatly needed in Lesbos. The new law demanded that a man who committed a misdemeanour when intoxicated should receive a punishment twice as severe as was ordinarily given for the same offence.² The laws of Pittakos were written upon wooden tablets.³

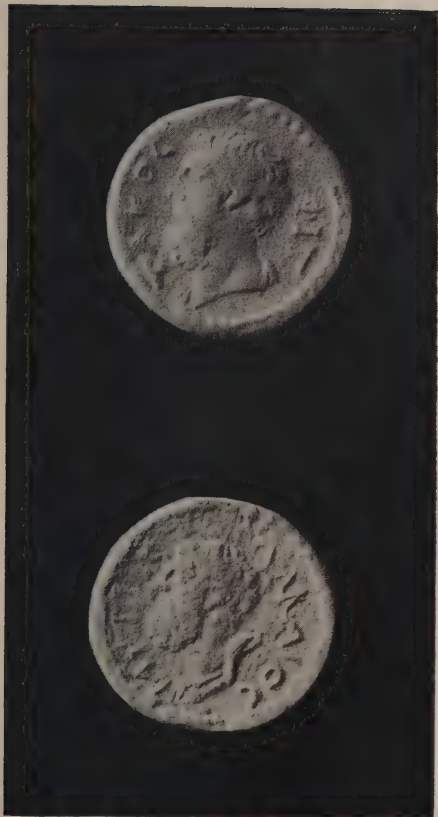
Before this settlement was brought about, the contest between the democratic party, of which Pittakos was the leader, and the aristocratic party had fiercely waged. Alkaios, the leader of the aristocrats, and one of the greatest of the lyric poets, made Pittakos the object of bitter satire in his verses, and had been banished;

but notwithstanding the avowed enmity and malignity of Alkaïos, Pittakos pardoned him, saying, "Forgiveness is better than revenge,"⁴ which shows how far in advance of his age he was in the spirit of toleration and generosity. Either at the time of his accession, or later, he pronounced a general amnesty, and by the enforcement of the new laws, and the personal influence of himself and his friends, he raised the moral standard of the city to a far higher plane than hitherto.

Peace and prosperity flourished under the reign of Pittakos, safety reigned in the island, and music and poetry were cultivated by the people. Pittakos himself wrote poetry, besides his treatise on law. He ruled for ten years, and then laid down his office, having made a model city of Mitylene; and after his death he was numbered among the Seven Wise Men, and the inscription on his tomb stated that Lesbos had buried him with tears.⁵

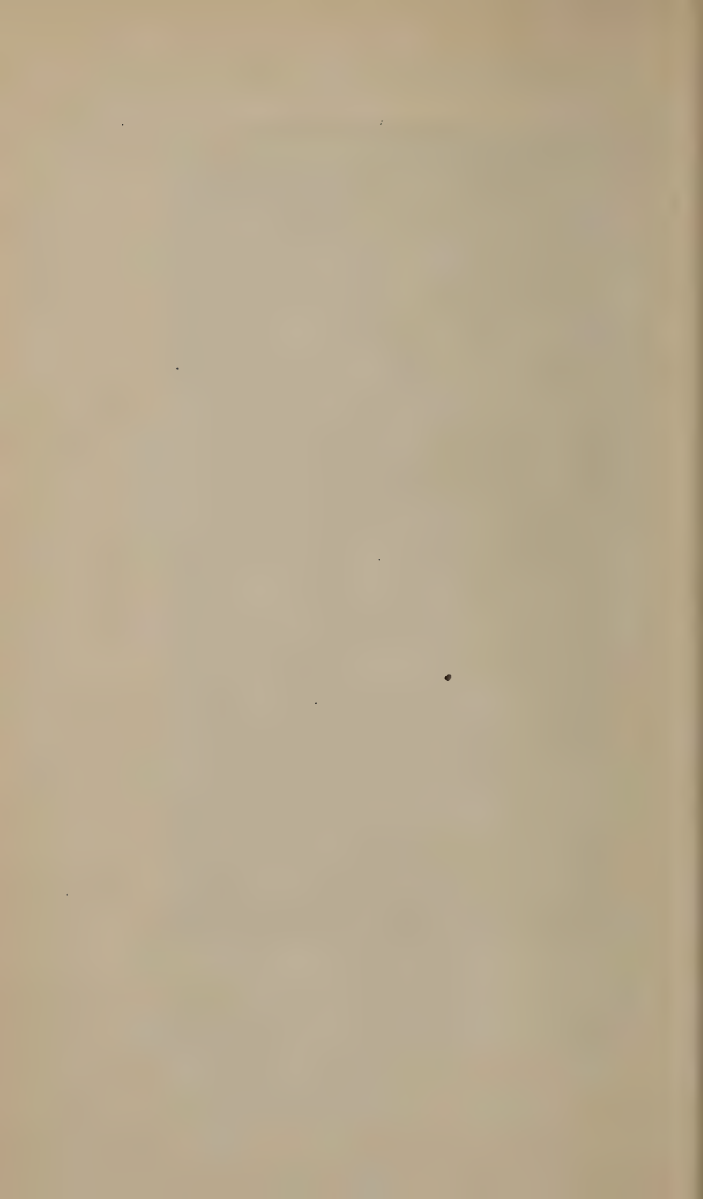
The only existing portrait of Pittakos is found on a coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The head of Pittakos is on one side of the coin and that of Alkaios, his one-time enemy, on the other. He appears to be of middle age, with a round head and thick but not long hair. The coin belongs to the Imperial age, but the figure may nevertheless be a portrait, as heads on the Imperial coins were very probably copies of older statues. It would be in Mitylene only that the head of Pittakos would be used on coins, as elsewhere he would be known as one of the Seven Wise Men. Pittakos and Solon strike the highest moral note of the age.

Solon, the framer of the Athenian constitution, the lyric and elegiac poet, the statesman and the wise man, was also an immediate contemporary of Sappho. Nature had combined in him in a remarkable manner political, philosophical, and literary power, for



PITTAKOS AND ALKAIOS

From casts of coins in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris



while he was above all things a statesman, and even in his poems gave political instruction to his readers, he is justly called both a philosopher and a poet. He was born of a wealthy family of merchants, and naturally travelled widely in carrying on his business. His travels brought him into contact with Ionian culture, and with the most celebrated men of the day. It was in a great measure the result of his intelligent direction that the foundation of the future greatness of Athens was laid. He was noted for his temperate wisdom in the midst of the hot political disputes of the Athenians, holding a middle course between aristocratic and radical extremes, yet not allying himself with the intermediate party. He perceived the impotence of laws that did not rest on the deliberate decision of the people, an idea which developed later into the form of a democracy under Perikles. Many of Solon's moral

standards were new to his time ; but he never gave up the conservative principles of the older lawgivers, which he expresses on more than one occasion, such as that the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children from generation to generation. As a law-giver he was austere, yet there seems to have been another and less severe side to his nature, for he speaks of "admiring rosy lips" in one place, and in another of eating cakes mingled with lentils. He thus describes a feast :—

"And there is no kind of dainty wanting there, but all the fruits which the black earth brings forth as food for men are present in abundance."⁶

He is also said to have written some verses of a not altogether delicate nature in his youth, which greatly shocked some of the ancient worthies, while others were delighted to think that so sage and exalted a man as Solon should be subject to human frailties.

Solon owes much of the originality

of his ideas and of his culture to Ionian influence. As a poet he simply followed the habit of expression of his time, for prose literature had not then come into use as a common form of writing. He was not so great a poet by nature, however, as were Sappho and Alkaios, but he is the only one of the Seven Wise Men who left writings. He is called the greatest of the wise men, but Pittakos and Thales may perhaps contest his claim to pre-eminence.

Other political leaders of Sappho's age were Alyattes, and his son Cræsos, who subjugated many of the cities of Asiatic Greece and made Lydia a synonym for wealth and power. Sappho says in speaking of her love for her little daughter Kleis,

"In place of whom nor all Lydia nor lovely Lesbos)."

Sardis, the capital of Lydia, was not far removed from Lesbos; the one renowned for its wonderful natural beauty, and the other for its oriental

court, where were found wealth and luxury and golden treasures.

Lesbos was an island of many poets, of whom the Cyclic minstrel Lesches was the first. He lived in Mitylene about 700 B.C., and wrote a poem in four books called a "Little Iliad." Sappho's greatest forerunner was Terpander, the father of lyric poetry, who was born in Antissa in Lesbos, and who lived nearly a century before her time.⁷ With him originated the religious lyric in Lesbos, and he also first gave poetry sung to the cithara and the lyre its place in education. His influence in the latter respect can be traced even to the time of Themistokles in the fifth century, when at all social gatherings a man was expected to be able to respond with a song if suddenly called upon to use the lyre; and Plato, commenting even later on the value of musical education, says:—

"Musical training is a more potent instrument than any other, because rhythm and harmony

find their way into the inward places of the soul, and he who has received this true education of the inner being becomes noble and good.”⁸

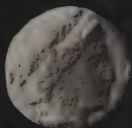
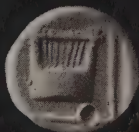
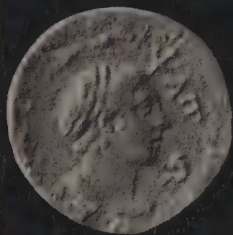
Terpander made the lyre so prominent that it was the chief stringed instrument for the next two hundred years. He changed its form, giving it seven strings instead of four, and the lyrical movement founded by him lasted almost until the age of Perikles. Even now we find the direct successor of the lyre in the modern harp, while the Æolian harp reminds us by its name of Sappho's time and tongue.

Terpander brought much glory to Lesbos, being the first poet to gain the prize at the musical and poetical contests instituted in the festival of Apollo Karneia in Sparta. The first one of these contests took place not far from the year 676 B.C., and enables us to find the era of Terpander with an approximate degree of certainty. It was an epoch-making period for Lesbos when the great poet of the

island was invited to Sparta, and his success there added to his renown, for he created such enthusiasm by his music and poetry that the proverb arose :—

“First the singer from Lesbos and then the others.”

According to some writers he was proclaimed victor over the other musicians and poets at four consecutive feasts held at intervals of eight years. Through his close connection with Sparta he brought the intellectual vigour of the Spartans to bear upon his native island, for Sparta gathered poets and musicians from all parts of Greece to educate her youth, and through Terpander the Lesbians came in contact with this movement, thus adding greatly to their own literary development. The fame of Terpander and the beauty of his poems were a common inheritance of the people, and helped to produce the art of the Lesbian poets who succeeded him. Sappho alludes



COINS FOUND IN MITYLENE

*The two above are taken from casts of the originals in the Bibliothèque Nationale
and the other from a coin in the author's possession*

to the superiority of Terpander in the lines :—

“Surpassing all, as the Lesbian singer among men of other lands.”

Only four fragments are preserved of his poems, but these show a wonderful delicacy and richness of nature. The first is almost like a Christian prayer :—

“Zeus, the beginning of all, Ruler of all ;
To thee, O Zeus, I offer this the beginning of
my hymns.”

“Sing to me again, O my heart, of the far-
shooting king ;
All hail, O King.”

“There will I sing where the spear of the young men flourishes, where is found the clear-voiced muse, and justice of the wide streets incites the people to good things.”

“We love no more the song of the four tones, but to thee [O Sparta] we shall sing new songs like rushing water, upon a lyre of seven strings.”⁹

Archilochos of Paros lived about half a century before Sappho,¹⁰ and his poetic genius had an especial influence on the

development of her art. He was the first of the satirists, and his character was in striking contrast to his great genius. He seems to have been handicapped from his birth in the matter of disposition. He was the son of an Ionian noble and a slave woman, and he was engaged to be married to the daughter of Lycambes, whose name was Neobule. Her father withdrew his consent to the marriage, having probably discovered that his future son-in-law was of an evil temper. Archilochos retaliated in a most ungallant way, and made the father, his former sweetheart, and her sister the subjects of such furious invective, that the highly improbable tradition exists, that the father and the daughters went straightway and hanged themselves. He himself greatly laments the loss of his bride, and one of the fragments from his poems says:—

“O Father Jupiter, I did not even partake of my marriage feast.”

He spent a part of his life in Thasos, where his father founded a colony, a place which he did not like at all, for he says :—

“Thasos is like the asses’ back crowned with wild forests.”

He wandered to many other places in the East, and no one wanted him for a fellow-citizen, for they feared his influence, which they considered evil. Notwithstanding his violent disposition, he holds the place next to Homer in the estimation of many critics. He was a pioneer in subjective poetry, and he also invented new metres. There originated with him a new form of melodrama, which was arranged between a full chorus and a recitation by a soloist. Archilochos was a real poet with passion and clear insight, and he was studied and imitated even by Æschylos, but in later times the publication of his works was forbidden in most of the conservative Greek states, because of

their coarseness. It was, however, his wonderful use of words which gave his poems their power, and he was considered a master of imagery. Quintilian says that he excelled in "powerful as well as short and quivering sentences." His description of the island of Paros will illustrate this power of expression :—

"Tell me not of Paros! famous figs and the life of the sea."

To one who is familiar with the Greek islands these words instantly evoke a vision of early morning walks through the vineyards, when the fig-trees stand laden with luscious fruit glistening with morning dew, and call to mind the white sails of the distant blue sea, and the fishermen busy with their nets on the shore.

It was the literary skill of Archilochos that was so greatly admired, and the influence of his words was enhanced by the fact of the genuineness of the emotions which he described, for he

spoke frankly of what was in his own soul. The directness that characterizes his verses was not only admired by the writers of his own age, but it was imitated by all the early lyric poets of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Alkaïos is the contemporary with whom Sappho's name is most frequently connected, and the two together are considered the most famous of all Lesbians. Alkaïos, however, wholly lacked the gentle dignity shown in Sappho's writings. He belonged to the nobility of his time, and he was not only a great fighter, but a fiery representative of the Æolian nobles. There were a number of distinguished men in his family whose sympathies were entirely with the aristocratic party, and for whom the least approach to popular government, the slightest infringement on the assumed rights of the nobility were not to be borne. The fragments which we possess of Alkaïos' poems show a greatly exaggerated respect for

wealth and noble family, and express the passion with which he entered the contest against Pittakos.

During the struggle, before Pittakos was chosen dictator with despotic power for the preservation of public order, Alkaios and his brothers opposed him and were sent into exile. Alkaios took refuge in Egypt, while one of his brothers, also in exile, entered the service of Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon, and on his return to Lesbos he brought back a sword with an ivory handle. While in banishment Alkaios employed himself in vituperating Pittakos. He bemoans the fact that such a man as he should be made tyrant, and that everybody should be praising him.¹¹ He writes that Pittakos did evil to his country, which was consequently in mourning. It was in the old age of Alkaios that Pittakos forgave him and allowed him to return to Mitylene, and the poet then became apparently reconciled to the new regime.

The poems of Alkaïos were mostly of a martial or a convivial nature. His satires were considered almost as biting as those of Archilochos, and were even more directly applied, as Alkaïos employed his poetical genius in his political warfare. He was, in fact, the first to make poetry a political weapon. In his "Songs of Sedition," which were warlike, he describes at much length his military trappings, seeming to take great delight in his apparel. It was rather the appearance, however, than the effectiveness of his armour which apparently concerned him, for he says that his house was bright with brass, and was adorned in honour of the god of war with shining helmets, from which floated white horses' tails.

His lyrics are largely of a convivial nature. One of the most so begins with the words :—

"Moisten the lungs with drink"—

which is an expression still used in

modern Greek among the people of Mitylene and elsewhere. Alkaios was not, however, a common drunkard any more than the average man of his time, for it is said of him that he usually diluted his wine with double the quantity of water.

Pittakos had been preceded by two other tyrants, Melanchros and Myrsilos. It was under Myrsilos that Alkaios wrote his famous ode on the ship of state. This he describes as being conducted by himself and his two brothers, who were also revolutionists, with a high wind against them and an anchor on which they could not rely as the waves of the black water rolled in upon them. The comparison of the state to a ship has now become a commonplace, but in the lines of Alkaios it was probably original. He also describes a winter night in Mitylene when the rain poured without and the storm raged, while within there was a warm fire on the hearth and generous

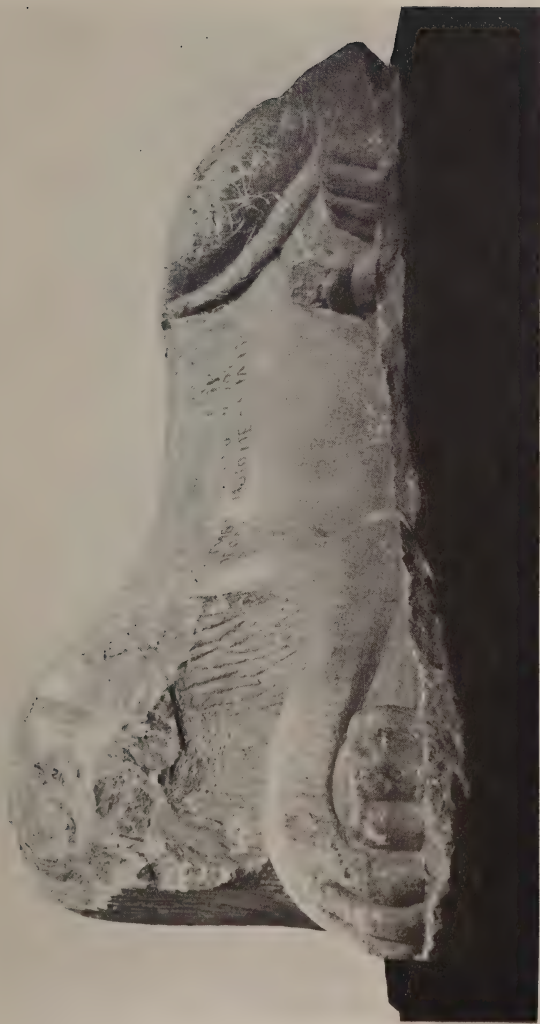
draughts of Lesbian beverages and soft pillows for the head. Horace has translated this fragment almost literally in the ninth ode of his first book. The verses of Alkaios are strong and musical, and he is always classed with Sappho in the history of the poetry of Lesbos.

His work was many-sided. He wrote martial songs, political poetry, in which he used all the fire of his genius to promote the views of his own party, love songs, hymns to the gods, and scholia. Many of his poems were written in a metre which he invented, and which has been called after his name. His dialect was Æolian, like that of Sappho, and his works filled ten books in Alexandria.

Although the thought of Sappho's world was almost wholly confined to poetical or musical expression, the poet was usually more or less of a philosopher, and added to his poetical and musical insight the power of seeing simple truths. A new school of philosophy

had arisen at Miletus, in which Thales and Anaximenes may both have been contemporaries of Sappho. Here were taught not only philosophy but geometry and astronomy. The school possessed a sundial, an astronomical globe,¹¹ and geographical maps, and it investigated the origin of all things, and questioned the simple belief of the time in the gods and goddesses. The leaders of the school enlarged their knowledge by travel and by study in Phœnicia and Egypt. They also paid some attention to etiquette, for Anaximenes is said to have been criticized by a friend in the neighbouring island of Chios for wearing his cloak wrapped carelessly about him.¹²

Prose literature was just coming into existence, not only for the purposes of natural philosophy but for ethics and theology. Fragments of the prose of that era are found in the sayings of the Wise Men, and in extracts from the books of Pherekydes of Syros, who is called the first prose writer among the



LION DEDICATED TO APOLLO OF BRANCHIDÆ (B.C. 580)

Now in the British Museum

The name of Thales is among those of the dedicators

Greeks. Some of the fables attributed to Æsop had been already composed, but it is uncertain whether they were committed to writing in that age.

There were many women poets who were contemporaries of Sappho, some even who lived in her own town, whom we know however only by name, and whose works are lost. Women had written poetry before Sappho's time. Thirty or forty years earlier Spartan maidens had begun to cultivate this art, and there are many names of women poets in the latter part of the century in which Sappho lived. We read of Myrtis, in whose honour statues were erected, and of Korinna, who is said to have conquered Pindar several times in musical and poetical contests. There was the patriotic heroine and lyric poetess Telesilla, of whose writings only one obscure fragment remains, and to whom a statue was erected in front of a temple to Aphrodite in Argos; at her feet lie her volumes of poetry,

and she herself is looking at a helmet which she is about to put on her head.

One of Sappho's direct contemporaries was Cleobulina, who is, however, somewhat of a mythical character. She is supposed to have lived in Lindos in Rhodes, and she was celebrated for her skill in riddles. The following riddle of the year is attributed to her :—

“There was a father and twelve children, each of whom had thirty daughters, black on one side and white on the other, and although immortal they all die.”

Sappho greatest contemporary from the point of view of poetry has been considered Erinna,¹³ who was said by some of the ancients to have been one of her pupils. Erinna, however, was not a lyric poet, but her celebrated poem was an epic, and she is thought by some late authorities¹⁴ to belong to the fourth century B.C. She was very famous, and her poem called “The Spindle” contained three hundred hexa-

metres, and was considered equal to the poems of Homer. She was from the neighbouring island of Telos, and had a mother with strong domestic tendencies, who would not allow her daughter to give her life to study and art, but obliged her to remain at home. The daughter died at the early age of nineteen, and her poem is largely a protest against the domestic life. An ancient writer thus alludes to Erinna :—

“This is the Lesbian wax-tablet of Erinna ; it is something sweet, a little thing, but wholly mixed with the honey of the Muses, and the three hundred verses of her are equal to Homer.”

The following fragments are from “The Spindle” :—

“Silent grey hairs that are the glory of old age to mortals.”

“From thence an empty echo swims to Hades. There is silence among the dead and darkness seizes the eyes.”

Among the early lyric poets are Alk-

man and Stesichoros. Alkman, who died in the latter part of the seventh century, is said by some to have been taken to Sparta as a slave from Sardis in his youth, but the story may be a myth. The general character of the poet seems to be that of a simple, pleasure-loving man, a seeker of social and moral freedom. He wrote six books, containing all kinds of melodies, hymns, pæans, prosodia, parthenia, and erotic songs, in easy and varied metres, and he was the real founder of the chorus. He is very near the Lesbians in spirit, and for more than two centuries his works lived in the memory of the Greeks. He boasts to have imitated the songs of the birds ; in other words, to have been a self-taught and original poet. He was simple in his habits, and records himself as being indifferent to dainties, but loves the dishes of the common people as long as they are sufficiently abundant. He does not care for the spring of the year,

for while everything blooms he cannot get enough to eat. He was also something of an authority in regard to beverages, preferring them when they smell of flowers. His most famous lines are on the valley of the Eurotas :—

“Sleep holds the mountain summits and ravines, the promontories and the water-courses ; and all the tribes of creeping things that black earth rears, and wild beasts of the mountains, and bees, and monsters in the hollows of the dark-gleaming sea ; and all the long-winged birds are sleeping.”

Stesichoros was a native of Sicily. His parents called him Tisias, and he took his more famous name from his profession. The name “Stesichoros” might have been given to any choir-master in a Greek city. He invented the strophe, the antistrophe, and the epode with the corresponding movements of the dance. His poems were of a semi-lyrical, semi-dramatic nature, founded on the mythological legends. He also wrote love poems of a some-

what modern type. There is said to have been a brass statue of Stesichoros in Constantinople representing him as a low-browed poet with a round head.

Anakreon of Teos, who lived considerably later than Sappho, and whose poetry was derived from the Lesbians, sings of life and love. At that time there was much jealous rivalry between the different Greek cities in regard to literary cultivation. Anakreon went from one to another, at the invitation of their rulers, singing the praises of love and wine and laughter. He seems to have had cleverness, without much seriousness or aspiration. His bitterest grief was that his grey hairs would render his appearance less pleasing. He was much less earnest in character than the poets of Lesbos, and speaks of love as an engrossing amusement, and feasting as spoiled by earnest conversation. Between Dionysos and Aphrodite he spent his days, and died at an old age impious and unrepentant.

Anakreon owes his success as a poet to Sappho. Without her leadership he could not have been, for one could not imagine him if Sappho had not gone before.¹⁵

There are names of other poets that have come down to us from that age. There were Arion of Lesbos, a kind of sea spirit, and Simonides of Amorgos, a small island of the Grecian Archipelago, and others of less importance. The contemporaries of Sappho lived and loved and went the way of mankind, but of what they were, and of what they did, we can have little knowledge beyond that given by internal evidence from their writings, and by the meagre records of their time.

CHAPTER III

MITYLENE

“**B**EAUTIFUL Sappho,” as Plato calls her,¹ was born in a place that might be designated as the paradise of the world. Strabo calls the island of her birth “Divine Lesbos.”²

The capital of the island in ancient times was Mitylene, and it has gradually come about that the city has given its name to the whole island. This change took place sometime during the Middle Ages, yet the old name of Lesbos is still understood and occasionally used.

It is an easy matter to visit Lesbos to-day, and to behold the scenes which surrounded Sappho. The island lies on the direct route between Constantinople and Athens, Smyrna and Egypt, and the harbour of Mitylene always contains



MITYLENE AND THE SOUTHERN HARBOUR

a number of steamers that have just arrived from these different ports, and others that are preparing to weigh anchor for their departure.

The position of the city of Mitylene is extremely picturesque. The Turkish flag* flies over the town at the entrance of the breakwater; from the harbour the minaret of one mosque only is visible, as the outward recognition of Mohammedanism, although there are some others hidden among the houses and trees of the town. In the foreground appears the dome-like tower of the Greek cathedral, of grey stone, while the building itself, large and square, is of a reddish-brown stone. Here and there around the town stray groups of cypress-trees mark the site of Turkish cemeteries. Just above, on one side, is the old acropolis, now bereft of the works of art that formerly rose there in glittering splendour. A little to the

* This chapter was written before the late Italian occupation of the island.

left, and slightly higher, is the hollow which is the only present evidence of the old theatre, which formerly vied in beauty with the theatre of any Greek city. The remains of the theatre prove that the position of the principal part of the town has not been changed in modern times.³

The mixture of the old and new in the harbour is most interesting. One boat, for instance, will bear the name of Menelaos or Acropolis, and perhaps the companion boat a modern name like Cecil. The boatmen wear full trousers, and red caps somewhat different from the Turkish fez, with a large black tassel hanging down behind. Every boatman has by his side a water-jug of graceful form that is a reminder of the more beautiful ancient pottery.

In the vicinity of the town are as many as eighty villages, the inhabitants of which look to Mitylene as their metropolis. On landing one may be taken as a matter of course to the Hotel



THE QUAY, MITYLENE

Pittakos. It is unfortunate that the temples and statues erected in honour of this great man should be buried beneath the ground, and no nobler monument remains to his memory than a primitive hotel. This hotel, however, is not inferior compared with others of its class in the East; although a man from Chios begged us to visit his island, only six hours' sail away, instead of Mitylene, because, he said, they had a much better hotel.

The principal disadvantage of the Hotel Pittakos is the lack of heat, if the weather happens to be cold. The rooms are only supplied with braziers, which are not of much use in severe weather. Fortunately, however, the cold weather lasts only for about six weeks, in January and February.

The city of Mitylene has not been essentially changed, either by the forces of nature or by human enterprise, during the twenty-five hundred years since Sappho lived. Conditions of life also

have not greatly changed. There are no electric cars nor whizzing automobiles to disturb the calm of the islands and shores of the Eastern Mediterranean, and nowhere else can be found such skies, such seas, and such views. The rainbow tints of clouds and wave reflect themselves in the wild flowers of the hill-side and in the shells on the shore.

Lesbos is situated off the coast of Asia Minor, exactly opposite the Gulf of Adramyttium. It is forty-three miles in length, and from eight to ten miles from the mainland, according to the irregularities of the coast-line. The early history of the island was identical with that of the Æolian Greeks. Strabo regarded it as their central seat, and a modern historian has called the island the "Pearl of the Æolian Race." The fertility of Lesbos has always given it prominence, and as long ago as twelve centuries before our era it was one of the richest and most prosperous places in the Eastern Mediterranean.⁴

The population is probably about 150,000, composed mostly of Greeks and Turks. There are approximately 20,000 Turks.

The island is called by the Turks "The Garden of the Ottoman Empire." Vegetation is abundant; in the spring the cyclamen and violets bloom in profusion, and the river-beds are ablaze with the oleander and wild pomegranate; the cliffs, through all the months of the year, are starred with the jonquil and the anemone, and aromatic with sweet herbs, myrtle and lentisk, samphire and wild rosemary. Exquisite gardens filled with the perfume of rose and hyacinth surround both town and country houses. The hill-sides are terraced with vineyards, which yield the famous wine, and in and out among these vineyards are groves of fig, and chestnut, and walnut-trees. Orange and lemon gardens thrive luxuriantly in the golden weather, and the fruit is sold in the streets with the green leaves still attached to the stems.

The abundance and excellence of the oranges and lemons add much to the charm of the island. These fruits are not referred to in ancient descriptions of the Greek world, except perhaps occasionally as "golden apples." Certainly no writer mentions them in connection with Mitylene, and it is thought that oranges and lemons were never extensively introduced into the countries west of India until about the eleventh century A.D.

The olive still retains its ancient primacy in Mitylene, and its oil is the chief product of the island. The immense groves of olive-trees that cover the slopes of the hills to-day with their mantle of delicate green may be the great-great, very great-grandchildren of those through which Sappho walked so long ago. The method of cultivation is practically the same. Olive-oil is even now pressed from the fruit in some places with primitive hand-presses, although the number of steam-presses



AN OLIVE GROVE IN MITYLENE

in the island is constantly increasing. The annual sales of olive-oil amount in some years to several millions of pounds. Olive-soap is also manufactured, and large quantities are exported. Other exports are acorns, chestnuts, melons, oranges, figs, lemons, pears, and the different varieties of the famous Lesbian wine. The roads in Mitylene are kept in better repair than in most other parts of the Turkish Empire. There is a telegraph system between the different cities of the island, and cable communication with the mainland.

Country scenes in general are presumably only slightly changed since Sappho's time. Even then the land was well cultivated according to primitive methods of agriculture. These methods are practically the same to-day, for the onrushing civilization of Europe has not yet reached the confines of the Western Orient. Then, as now, Mitylene was famous for its wine, oil, and fruits, and now, as then, slow-moving

sailboats dot the horizon, lazily conveying heavy cargoes of the products of the island to other places less fortunate.

Xenophon called Lesbos a mine of ancient wealth, and another Greek writer said that the child in Lesbos had only to put out his hands from the cradle to reach the grapes. Modern conditions are much the same. One feels in Mitylene, with Xenophon, that Nature is doing her best to add to the zest of physical well-being, and the beauty of Mitylene is again and again referred to by Sappho in her magical verses.

The coast-line is irregular and turns inward at many points, forming delightful little coves fringed by overhanging pine-trees and bordered by the dwarf rose, the wild lavender, and feathery maidenhair. One may lie on the beach and watch the abandoned boats, the long strings of little fish drying in the sun, or the flocks of wild birds drifting about beneath the cloudless calm of a summer's sky ; or, if he choose, he

may bathe in the transparent water, so calm and blue that one author has said that the island looks as if it were set in lapis lazuli.

Mitylene had its Olympos as well as Greece and Asia Minor, the modern name of which is St. Elias ; the height of this mountain is somewhat over 3,000 feet, with a ridge of white marble at the summit.

There are hot springs at different places. Perhaps the most celebrated are at Polichniti. Others are found near Mitylene in Thermi, Moria, and many other localities. There is one village that is named Loutra, meaning baths.

Many of these baths have medicinal properties, and were used by the ancients. Some of the Roman bath-houses still remain ; one at least may be seen of excellent ancient construction, with the necessary comfortable upper and lower rooms for the patients who frequent the baths in May and August.

A nearer visit to the old theatre reveals the form and arrangement of the ancient seats.⁵ Here in the balmy air of the Eastern Mediterranean, under the sky for a roof, the best of the old poetry was sung and spoken. The site of the theatre is magnificent. It is in the highest part of the city, and looks directly towards the east. The view embraces the whole city of Mitylene, the harbour, the sea over the top of the acropolis, and in the distance the blue mountains of Asia Minor. From the seats of the theatre one looks directly across to the mainland, where Troy, Mount Ida, Smyrna, Ephesos, Miletos, Samos, Halikarnassos, and Sardis were all near at hand. There are here and there marble remains to be found, but it is sometimes necessary to excavate nearly two metres in order to discover them. From the marble fragments of the seats it is evident that they were made of white marble, and in many cases



THE ACROPOLIS OF ANCIENT MITYLENE



SITE OF THE THEATRE OF ANCIENT MITYLENE

were beautifully curved and rounded, showing an æsthetic sense of line and form. The diameter of the theatre is said to have been one hundred and seven metres, and it was built in the usual semicircular shape with tiers of seats rising above each other, and seated ten thousand people. It is impossible to know when it was first constructed, but it was probably built and rebuilt. It was so fine a structure in the first century B.C. that Pompey copied the plan for a similar one which he wished to erect in Rome.⁶

Much of the architecture of ancient times, even of a period so far back as the age of Sappho, might possibly be restored by excavations, for the island is full of fragments of marble columns and indications of buried temples. The site of one of these old temples, near the town of Mitylene, is preserved at present by a Turkish cemetery, where the curious modern Turkish tombstones are mingled with

ancient shafts and columns and odds and ends of marble. The city was surrounded by walls in very old times,⁷ which were doubtless rebuilt and changed from time to time, as was the case in all old Greek cities. In the age of Perikles the circumference of Mitylene was five kilometres, slightly less than that of Athens. The line of the old walls can be traced partly in remains and partly by signs. The walls are made of blocks of marble filled in with small stones and earth. Numerous old graves help to fix the limits of the city. There is a factory now which marks the beginning of an old necropolis, where there have been no excavations. Occasional pieces of marble lie on the ground, and in one or two places it is possible to look into the old graves. The southern necropolis is the most important of the two largest collections of graves, where have been found many an old sarcophagus and stele. The sarcophagi are mostly



MARBLE CHAIR, FROM THE THEATRE OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF MITYLENE
IT BEARS THE INSCRIPTION :
POTAMONOS
SON OF LESBONAX
PRESIDENTIAL CHAIR

monolithic, with a smooth place left on the side for an inscription. The ornamentation is quite simple.

The site of the Prytaneum referred to by several ancient writers as existing even in Sappho's time cannot yet be identified.⁸ West of the present bazaar of Mitylene is the church of Holy Theodore, in the front of which are a number of smooth columns of fine grey marble. Here was the largest level place in the old city, and doubtless formed the agora. Many mosaic floors are found here made of fine cubical stones, and, in fact, in the whole city remains are found of Roman mosaic work in three and four colours. There is one mosque in the city which dates back to the time of Mohammed the Conqueror.

Very little of ancient art is still shown in the city of Mitylene, the chair of Lesbonax, who lived in the age of Augustus, being almost the only thing of the kind of importance. This is

made of a single piece of white marble beautifully carved. The same general design may have been observed in the furnishings of the theatre in the time of Lesbos. The chair is now used only at Easter, as a seat for the Greek priest who distributes the brilliantly coloured Easter eggs to the people. The remains of aqueducts in Mitylene and in the whole island are very abundant. Those built for the water-supply at Moria and other places show that the system of water-works was enormous and highly developed during the Roman domination, and compared well with the most complex and complete systems of ancient times. The water for the cities of Lesbos was supplied from the Lesbian Olympos.

The topography of the island is almost unchanged, and many of the old names of places are still heard. The harbour of Mitylene is, however, an exception, and has gone through a curious transformation during the pas-



MITVLENE, THE NORTHERN HARBOUR



THE NORTHERN POINT OF THE NORTHERN HARBOUR

sage of the centuries.⁹ In place of the double harbour of olden times there is one small harbour south-west of the town. Fortifications jut out into the sea just north of it on land which was then an island, around the back of which the harbour extended. The island thus afforded protection from both the north and the south winds. Ships could put into either the northern or the southern part of the harbour, according to the direction of the wind from which they sought escape. The old harbour is spoken of by Diodoros of Alexandria in the third century B.C. as a harbour within the city. The stream between the island and the town was not a small river, but allowing for the rapid filling up of the land which has taken place it would seem to have been a wide open strait between the two parts of the sea, through which vessels could pass, possibly a small imitation of the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus. Strabo tells us that

the northern harbour was deep, and the southern harbour was shallow and used for triremes, and was closed with a chain. The remains of the two moles are still seen at the entrance of this harbour. During the Roman period there were bridges of white shining stone across the strait which separated the island from the town.¹⁰ The marble of which these bridges were made was called "warm and white" by an ancient author. The island has now become a part of the town, for the strait called the Euripos has been filled up during the gradual changes which have taken place, and lies at present under the bazaar of Mitylene. In digging a trench for a modern water-supply under this bazaar the engineers were very much astonished to find the remains of an old wooden boat deeply embedded in the soil.

At the present time large steamers cannot go inside the breakwater in the

harbour, and when the high winds arise to which the Ægean is subject, Mitylene is not an easy place of access. At such times the regular steamers from Egypt are unable to call for passengers *en route* for Athens or Constantinople.

Homer's heroes seem to have had similar difficulties when desirous of leaving the island. We read that when the winds were high they would not attempt to cross from Lesbos to Andros without a favourable omen from Poseidon.

There is a story told of a Greek merchant of modern times who sailed away from Mitylene on business in the stormy season and was unable to return for weeks, being carried past the island back and forth between Smyrna and Constantinople several times.

Owing to the character of the harbour the unloading of cargoes from the steamers is very difficult. There is no quay where steamers can unload, and passengers and cargo are brought on

shore in small boats called "barkas," sometimes mixed together in a most uncomfortable manner. The traveller may find himself landed in front of his hotel accompanied by a motley collection of poultry, produce, and miscellaneous luggage.

The people of Mitylene have many quaint and delightful customs. One of the most pleasant is that of making sweetmeats out of flowers. Orange, lemon, and violet blossoms are converted into sweets superior even to the rose-leaf confection in other parts of Turkey. If one happens to call on a Greek family in the modern town a glass bowl of these sweets, surrounded with glasses of fresh, cool water is passed round on a silver tray. Each guest is expected to take a teaspoonful of the sweets, to be followed by a sip of water.

Every father in Mitylene is bound to give his daughter a furnished house as a dowry. Fathers who are very poor

prepare living places for their daughters which are only makeshifts, yet the land on which they are placed is always of some value.

There are sometimes amusing manifestations of the difference between Greek and Turkish beliefs. Not long ago there was a very severe drought in the island, and all the vegetation was in danger of being dried up.

“Let us bring a camel from the mainland,” said the Turks, “and then rain will come.”

“Bring a camel from the mainland!” scoffed the Greeks. “Can a camel create rain?”

The Turks had their way, and the camel sailed over from Smyrna to Mitylene, and sure enough it began to rain. It rained and rained until floods arose in the island, and threatened a greater destruction than was feared from the drought. Then the Turks said to the Greeks—

“You see the camel did bring rain,

but we made a mistake in bringing so large a camel. We should have brought a smaller one for an island."

The people of Mitylene are not wanting in the traditional love of education. Dimitrios Bernardakis, a great scholar and historian among the Greeks, died in his home there in January, 1907. Dr. Bernardakis was for some time an honoured professor in the University at Athens, and some of the most beautiful dramas and poems in the modern Greek language bear his name. He was decorated more than once by the King of Greece, and he was also honoured by the Turkish Government, and offered the position of General Inspector of Schools in the *Ægean* Islands. There are at present good schools in Mitylene, and some of the teachers in them from time to time have been distinguished scholars among the Greeks. The curriculum in the schools for both boys and girls includes the reading and translation of ancient Greek authors, besides a

very presentable programme of general studies.

There is a fair classical library on the island, containing historical and philological works of value. It is said that many of the bishops of the Orthodox Church in the Levant came from Lesbos. Greeks of wealth give freely for the betterment of the people. A family in Mitylene, by the name of Bournazos, has given a hospital to the town, and a school for boys and girls which bears the name, besides doing many other generous things. Sophokles Bournazos, the head of the family, has been called the "Benefactor of Mitylene."

The language of Lesbos, especially in the villages, more resembles the old Æolian than is the case in any other place. The common tongue of the peasants, if carefully examined, reveals many unchanged ancient words. The Lesbians are the true descendants of the ancient Æolians, and preserve the ancient type both in language and custom.

The people still have the old epigrammatic way of speaking. A traveller tells the story of a donkey-boy who could not read, but who said calmly, in discussing the subject, "Letters are eyes ; he who is ignorant is blind." A saying which might almost have been attributed to one of the Seven Wise Men.

Valuable old coins are for sale in Mitylene. It is possible even now to find those which have the head of Sappho on one side and the outlines of a lyre on the other. In the latter part of the past century a traveller in Lesbos had the good fortune to find in the remains of an old villa in the country a vase containing several hundred bronze coins, belonging probably to the second or third century B.C. The figure on these coins was that of Apollo holding a lyre of four strings.

A collector was called upon by a dealer during a recent visit to the island. The dealer had some interesting old



A SUPPOSED SAPPHO COIN FROM MITVLENE,
BELONGING TO THE GREEK PERIOD
(Enlarged twice the diameter)

coins for sale, but his prices seemed exorbitant. A member of the collector's party, who had had much experience in buying coins in Smyrna and other cities of Asia Minor, pointed to certain coins and told the dealer that for these she would give him one shilling each, and for some others which he had she would give him two shillings, or perhaps three. The dealer listened to the offer, cast upon the party a look of lofty scorn, wrapped his robes about him, packed up his coins and departed, bestowing upon the would-be purchasers a very cool salutation. The next day, however, he reappeared with the same and other coins, which he offered to the party at their own price.

One hears the name of Sappho spoken on every hand in Mitylene, both in reference to the poet, of whom all the island is still proud, and to her namesakes, of whom there are so many that it is perhaps not too much to say that there is one in every family.

This enthusiastic interest in a poet who lived so long ago is largely a revival rather than a survival, for Mitylene has had her dark ages like the rest of the world, although the period of eclipse came later there than in the West. The revival of Greek learning dates from the time of the independence of Greece early in the nineteenth century, and in this movement Mitylene, although not belonging to Greece politically, has borne a praiseworthy part.

Two columns are still shown in the town which are said to have been taken from Sappho's school, the House of the Poets. These columns are now built into the portico of the Greek church Therapon, and evidently date from a much later age than the time of Sappho, probably having belonged to a temple of Apollo, but the legend in regard to them will illustrate the strength of the traditions of Sappho.

Lovers of Greek poetry should visit

Lesbos while the charm of the ancient scenes and customs remains unchanged. The island will always be beautiful, but the old Greek atmosphere which one finds there now will pass away with the onward march of Western civilization.

CHAPTER IV

THE LIFE OF SAPPHO

SAPPHO has always been recognized as one of the great poets of the world. For a thousand years after her death she was called "The Poetess," as Homer was called "The Poet"; yet as a living personality she has been lost in the dim haze of a long-forgotten past. Can we reproduce her? Not alone the writer of the wonderful poetry, but the woman who lived on the beautiful island of Lesbos.

We shall not find as the result of our quest the Sappho of popular knowledge, who has been so long considered a type of ill-starred passion, but a poet of a noble and exalted nature, in close touch with the mysteries of life, and

a graceful giver of good things to humanity.

To seek the real Sappho one must go back in thought to about the end of the seventh century B.C., to the city of Eresos,¹ where she was born, on the west coast of Lesbos south of Cape Sigrium. There the remains of an old acropolis crown the summit of a rock which rises almost perpendicularly from the sea, and the eager traveller's enthusiasm is aroused by the ruins of the ancient edifices which once adorned this celebrated eminence. The ground is covered in all directions with fragments of marble columns and statues, and the scene is enlivened by the presence of the maidens of Eresos wearing white veils bordered with red, falling nearly to their waists, something after the fashion of the costumes pictured on the Greek vases. There is a saying recorded of an old Greek poet that if the gods ate bread they would surely send Mercury their steward to Eresos

to buy it, and it was in the form of barley loaves whiter than the driven snow.²

The name of Sappho's father was Scamandronymos,³ and he died when she was about six years old. Her mother's name was Kleis, and she had three brothers, Larichos, Charaxos, and Eurygios, who were called in antiquity not the "sons of Scamandronymos," which was the custom then as now in the matter of names, but the "brothers of Sappho."

Of her disposition Sappho says :—

"I am not of those who are sullen, but I have a sweet temper."

Alkaïos called her :—

"Pure, sweetly-smiling Sappho, weaver of violets."

She is seldom spoken of by ancient writers without the adjectives beautiful or fair, yet we cannot be sure whether it was her personal appearance which gave

rise to this description, or the character of her verses. She was probably beautiful, for Lesbos was the land of fair women. Homer refers to it in the *Iliad* as a well-inhabited island whose maidens surpassed in beauty all the tribes of womankind.

Special beauty contests were held regularly in Lesbos as well as in the neighbouring island of Tenedos.⁴ The ground taken at these contests was that beauty was as deserving of honour as skill in athletics or courage in battle. The victor was doubtless crowned with myrtle as in other similar contests among the Greeks. The beauty of the women of Lesbos is often referred to in early times, but strange to say to-day the island is noted for the beauty of its men and the ugliness of its women.

The most reliable portraits that we have of Sappho are found upon the coins of Lesbos.⁵ Both the people of Mitylene and Eresos put her on their coins, and in Eresos special coins were

made in her honour, although she cannot have lived there long. Sometimes her head and sometimes her full figure are represented on these ancient coins. In case of the full figure she is usually sitting down and playing on her lyre, although in a few cases she has been found standing. The only coins which bear Sappho's name are from the Imperial Age, when Lesbos was a part of the Roman Empire, and when a number of the great personages of the island were selected for the honour of appearing on the coinage: Pittakos, Alkaios, and Sappho among the ancients, and Theophanos and Lesbos of a later period.⁶

Even the coins bearing her name, however, differ so much in appearance that they cannot all be reduced to the same type. The difference is largely in the manner of dressing the hair; in the one case the hair is coiled behind with the narrow bands over the top of the head, and in the other it is covered by



COINS BEARING REPRESENTATIONS OF SAPPHO
BELONGING TO THE IMPERIAL PERIOD
In the British Museum

a head handkerchief similarly to the present fashion among the women and girls of Lesbos. The handkerchief has the ends crossed, and little curls appear at the side. The latter type is the older one. Heads on coins bearing Sappho's name have a strong resemblance to those found on much older coins, stamped in an era nearer to the time in which she lived, and the reverse of both types is the same, namely, a tortoise-shell lyre.

The few coins in existence that date back to the time of even fifty years after Sappho are so primitive that one realizes in examining them how very long she lived before the customs and knowledge belonging to modern civilization. Those very early coins are irregular in shape and bear a primitive inscription of a part of the name of the island. The coins of Lesbos were issued chiefly in Mitylene and Methymna, the two most important cities in the island. Among these ancient coins are many having the

relief of a beautiful woman's head on one side and a lyre on the other, which might well be intended to represent Sappho.

There is a strong prejudice in favour of the figures on the old coins being copies of statues that were made in honour of Sappho near the time when she lived, or of later statues which were ideal portraits and which were among the honours paid to her by the people of Mitylene. Such statues may have been referred to by Aristotle in his *Rhetoric*, where he says that "the Mitylenians honoured Sappho although she was a woman,"⁷ suggesting some form of outward honour either on coins or in temples, and which has sometimes been interpreted as meaning divine honours.

Furtwängler claims, however, that it was not the custom before the time of Alexander to honour distinguished people on coins,⁸ but that this was reserved in very ancient times for the gods, and that the beautiful heads found

on the old coins of Lesbos represent Aphrodite or Apollo.

Some of the disputed coins go back to the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. Pollux⁹ tells us in the second century of our era that the people of Lesbos represented Sappho on their coins, and in a note found on some manuscripts it is stated that they erected a statue in her memory. As a matter of fact a new coin bearing the head of Sappho was stamped in Pollux time.

It is very interesting to compare the types on the coins with existing pictures and busts of Sappho, which do not in general sustain the uncertain legend that she was small in size. We have pictures of her more or less authentic dating from the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. There is a terra-cotta relief which is supposed to represent Sappho and Alkaïos from the island of Melos in the British Museum, the date of which is probably about 540 B.C. Sappho is presented as a slight figure simply

dressed in a long knitted or woven tunic, and wearing sandals. There is a fillet about her hair, and she is seated with her lyre holding a plectrum in each hand. Alkaïos is standing before her with bowed head. There are fragments which have been preserved of a dialogue between these two, and which have been referred to this relief, although it is quite probable that Sappho wrote both question and answer. Alkaïos says :—

“Pure, sweetly-smiling Sappho weaver of violets,
Fain would I say something but diffidence
prevents me.”

And Sappho answers :—

“If thou hadst desired things good and fair,
and had not thy tongue stirred up some evil
speech, diffidence had not filled thine eyes, but
thou hadst spoken concerning what is just.”

There seems to be no reason whatever for thinking that the terra-cotta relief illustrates these lines, except that



ARCHAIC TERRACOTTA RELIEF OF SAPPHO AND ALKAIOS
FROM THE ISLAND OF MELOS
Now in the British Museum

Alkaios is bowing before Sappho. It is far more probable that it is intended to typify his reverence and admiration, for the lofty ideal of poetry represented by this gifted daughter of the Muses.

Another picture of her is from a vase of the fifth century B.C. found in Agrigentum, Sicily. It also represents Alkaios with bowed head before Sappho. The names Sappho and Alkaios are inscribed on the vase, together with the dedication of the sculptor, Byrgos, to his pupil Damas. Sappho's name is spelled Sapho on this vase, although it is often written Psappho or Sappho.

A bronze statue was made of her by the Greek sculptor Silanion, who lived in the fourth century B.C. This statue was in the Prytaneum at Syracuse in the time of Verres, who is said to have stolen it. It must have been seen by Cicero, for he praises it highly.¹⁰ It may still be in existence, buried under the debris which time collects, as well as the one of Plato by the same sculptor,

which was dedicated to the Muses and placed in the Academy in a suburb of Athens. As late as the fifth century A.D. the statue of Sappho, representing her in a sitting posture, is said to have stood in the gymnasium of Zeuxippos in Constantinople.

There was another statue of Sappho in Pergamon, which is described by Antipater, and there were paintings made of her in later times, one of which is mentioned by Pliny.

The well-known bust in the Villa Albani may be considered a portrait of Sappho, for comparing it with her image on the coins, we find the arrangement of her hair similar to that on the heads on the older coins of Mitylene. The little curls and the ends of the head handkerchief are common to both. The bust may be a copy of Silanion's statue, or like the heads on the coins it may be a copy of an ideal portrait possibly belonging to the fourth or fifth centuries B.C. The so-called head of Sappho in



VASE FROM AGRIGENTUM (5TH CENT. B.C.), SHOWING ALKAIOS
ADDRESSING SAPPHO

After the original in Munich

the Palazzo Pitti is more dreamlike, and may be the copy of some other portrait, or may not indeed be intended for her. There is another head of importance said to represent Sappho, and that is found in the Galleria Geographica in the Vatican.

Our poet must have removed at an early date to Mitylene, as all allusions to her life include in some way the capital city. Tradition, however, is to this day strong in the island, that Eresos was her birthplace although it is well known that she spent most of her life in the city of Mitylene.

Socially she belonged to a noble family. One of her brothers, Larichos, was a cup-bearer in the town hall of Mitylene.¹¹ This office was only given to youths of noble birth, who could fill it with honour and please the people by their grace and beauty. Larichos was a successful cup-bearer in the Prytaneum, and is said often to have been praised by his sister for the way

he performed his duties. The ability to please the people of the time in handing round the brimming cup was a special art among the Æolians. For this they were lauded in other parts of Greece, and in later times Roman youths, the most nobly born, performed this office in the public sacrifices, and tried to imitate the Æolian cup-bearers in everything, even in the tones of their voices.¹² Sappho speaks also in one of her poems of Mercury acting as cup-bearer to the gods.

Another of Sappho's brothers, Charaxos, was engaged in a lively trade in wine with the Greeks in Naukratis in the Delta of the Nile, which was at that time coming into prominence as a Greek colony. It is related that Æsop, then a slave boy, had as a companion a young slave named Rhodopis, who was so beautiful that her fame spread throughout all the East. Charaxos while trading in Egypt was so enamoured of Rhodopis that he paid the money for

her ransom, making her a free citizen of Naukratis.¹³ She afterwards through her great beauty became so wealthy and prominent that people in ancient times, according to Herodotos, thought that she built the Pyramids. This, however, was most certainly not true. Herodotos says that Rhodopis in her later years, feeling perhaps that she had not led a blameless life, desired to propitiate the gods. So she decided to spend one-tenth of the money which she had amassed in sending to Delphi in Greece the most wonderful gift that had ever been devised. After much consideration she decided on a number of iron spits for roasting oxen in the sacrifices. These iron spits were sent from Naukratis to Delphi in sailing-boats, and one hundred and fifty years later Herodotos says that anyone who wishes may see them, as they lie piled up behind the altar built by the people of the island of Chios, opposite the central temple at Delphi.

Sappho was so indignant at her brother's connection with Rhodopis that she wrote one of her most satirical odes on this subject. The ode is referred to by several writers, and one of the newly discovered fragments of Sappho may be a part of it, as it is evidently a rebuke to Charaxos.

A poem of five stanzas was recently discovered among the papyri from Oxyrhynchos called Sappho's ode to the Nereids, which furnishes some interesting details regarding the later life of Charaxos. His connection with Rhodopis, which Sappho so bitterly lamented, resulted in poverty and shame. Having lost his all, he came home to Mitylene to be treated with scorn by his townsmen. Public sentiment regarding him was shown at a feast given in the town, at which he was met with cold looks and sickening words. We learn that he tried to retrieve his fallen fortunes by again trading in wine in Egypt. This seems to have pleased his sister,

for she expressed her approbation and love for her brother in a prayer to the Nereids for his safe return.

The prominence of Sappho's family is shown by the fact that, when she was quite young, on account of political disturbances which shook the island, they were obliged to leave home and flee to Sicily. The great struggle between the nobles and commoners, which finally ended in the triumph of democracy, was at its height in Lesbos when Sappho fled. It is stated in the Parian Chronicle that when Aristokles reigned over the Athenians Sappho fled from Lesbos and sailed to Sicily.¹⁴ This chronicle is a celebrated inscription cut on a block of marble which was found in Paros and is now in the British Museum, and professes to contain a chronological account of the principal events in Greek history from the sixteenth to the third century B.C. The journey from Lesbos to Sicily was a long one in those days of imperfect navigation, and it must have been

made in an open boat, which would entail not a little danger. This journey gave Sappho, however, an opportunity to see something of the world, and the years that she spent in Sicily must have broadened her outlook. Her poems contain many geographical allusions, which show familiarity with the places to which she refers.

It is an interesting coincidence to note that she was a prototype of Plato in this respect, that she made the journey to Sicily before establishing her school in her native land. She must have returned to Mitylene when still quite young, as there are references to her marriage there to a man of wealth named Kerkolas, from the island of Andros,¹⁵ and of her having a daughter whom she called Kleis in memory of her mother.

“A fair daughter is mine, with a form like a golden flower, Kleis the beloved, in place of whom nor all Lydia nor lovely [Lesbos].”

It does not seem that Sappho's husband played an important part in her career, and probably, judging from the lack of reference to him, he did not live long after they were married.

There is no allusion in any of her fragments to the political war which convulsed the city of Mitylene, from which we must infer that she wrote in a time of peace. Had she been in Mitylene during the violent struggles which gave rise to the satires of Alkaïos she could hardly have been silent concerning them. We should, therefore, judge from internal evidence that she was much younger than Alkaïos, and began her literary work later than the period of contest which Alkaïos represents. It can well be imagined that in the change from confusion to peace when Pittakos came into power, and in the sudden bloom of prosperity, music and poetry would find a larger place in the minds of the people and political troubles would be forgotten. Sappho's verse

indicates peace and prosperity in every line, and tells us of a quiet life with leisure to dream, and freedom to wander over the hills and by the seashore around Mitylene. This peace continued throughout the dictatorship of Pittakos in Mitylene, which is placed by some historians from about 600 to 590 B.C.,¹⁶ and this period, or a few years later, may well have been the golden period of Sappho's art.

She was not always understood by later writers, and it has been left to modern critics to restore to her the honourable reputation which she deserves. Her character was first definitely attacked some two hundred years after she died by the comedy writers of Athens, who were unable to understand the free and full life of the women of Lesbos two hundred years earlier, and who, putting their own interpretation upon her poems, attributed to her much that was base and questionable in her private life. At least six of these

writers make her a mistress of love, intrigue, and vice, and their slanderous conception of her character was accepted for many succeeding centuries.

One legend which has long been believed about her is that she threw herself from the Leukadian rock into the sea near the island of Ithaca, because of unrequited love for a young man called Phaon. This legend has been so widespread that it is often the only thing known about her. It has been referred to in prose, poetry, and the drama, and has been the theme of song and picture so frequently that it has become a part of the popular setting for the much-maligned poetess.

One of the Greek comedies which assailed Sappho's reputation was called "Leukadia," and was written by the poet Menander, who lived in Athens in the fourth century B.C. It especially treated of the unhappy love of Sappho and Phaon, and stated that Sappho threw herself in despair from the Leu-

kadian rock to end her sorrows in the dark waters beneath. The heroic epistle attributed to Ovid, and entitled "Sappho to Phaon," is also partly responsible for the prominent place this story has occupied in reference to Sappho, and for the fact that it has become an integral part of modern literature. It is hardly necessary to say that as an historical fact the story was from the beginning without foundation, and does not accord with the events of her life.

There is, however, an adequate explanation which has never been sufficiently dwelt upon, in regard to the connection of this myth with Sappho. There is a picturesque promontory in the island of Leukas, just to the north of the famous old island of Ithaca. This promontory is formed of a single rock, which rises abruptly from the sea to a height of two thousand feet, and is called "Leukatas." Seaward the rock presents the appearance of a wall of glistening white marble. Its impressive and un-



THE LEUKADIAN PROMONTORY
From an old engraving

usual aspect has given rise to numerous mythical stories of uncertain origin, of which perhaps none are more romantic or more doubtful than the one to which we refer. On the rock was a temple of Apollo Leukatas, and Strabo says that the leap from the rock was thought to be the termination of love. It was the custom of the Leukadians to cast a criminal down from the rock each year as the sacrifice in honour of Apollo, and the expression "Leukadian Leap" was often mentioned in ancient writings in connection with this expiatory rite in the worship of Apollo. Allusions to the Leukadian rock were also used metaphorically to describe anyone who was in love. Anakreon, who lived shortly after Sappho, says in a poem :—

"Again ascending the Leukadian rock, and diving into the hoary wave, I swim intoxicated with love."

Stesichoros wrote a fanciful song which was sung by the women of Sparta,

in which he used the story of the Leukadian rock. This song tells the tale of a damsel called Calyca, who was in love with a youth called Euathlos. Calyca prayed to Aphrodite to grant that she might become the wife of Euathlos, but if that were not possible to bestow death upon her. Aphrodite, it seems, did not see fit to grant her prayer, and consequently Calyca threw herself down from the precipice at Leukatas, a sacrifice to true love.¹⁷

It is said that Aphrodite, who was the favourite goddess of Sappho, transformed the boatman Phaon, in the harbour of Mitylene, when he was an old man, into a youth of grace and charm, and bestowed upon him two things : beauty that drew all hearts, and indifference to love. Reference to these and other stories were very probably found in Sappho's own writings. As a matter of fact, she is said to have written several songs showing her love for Phaon, but it was doubtless the mytho-

logical Phaon of Aphrodite's cult. The dividing line between myth and fact is never very sharply drawn, and was especially indistinct during the ages before exactness of statement was much cultivated. Therefore it came about that chance allusions in her writings, having probably no personal connection, were considered significant, and that she was thought to have really thrown herself from the precipice at Leukatas from love of Phaon.

There is every reason to conclude that Sappho was a woman with high moral ideals. Alkaïos, in addressing her, uses the epithet *agna*, which is a word that especially implied chastity. We have internal evidence in favour of her purity of character, from the ode recently discovered condemning the conduct of her brother in his love for Rhodopis. How could she have written those scathing words about this disgrace if there were stains upon her own reputation? We find a still further proof

in the respect that was shown her by her fellow-townsmen. The authority of the statements regarding the wide honour in which she was held cannot be questioned, and this certainly would not have been the case had there been any doubt of the uprightness of her character. Her position at the head of her school also attests the fact of the esteem which she enjoyed. There has never been an age of the world when society was so corrupt that young women would be sent from a distance to study under a teacher who had a sullied reputation. On the contrary, the fact that a man or a woman has been able to hold the position as head of an educational institution has always been considered without question a sufficient proof of integrity.

It is not definitely known when Sappho died, but it was probably not until after she had reached or passed middle life. After her death the Greeks with one accord placed her next to

Homer. It is in Mitylene that she is best remembered to-day. To the rest of the world her name signifies no more than part of our literary heritage, but to the people who live in her old home she is still a real personage.

CHAPTER V

THE "HOUSE OF THE POETS"

SAPPHO speaks in one fragment of her school as a "House of the Poets" (*oikia mousopolon*). Had this institution existed a few centuries later it would very probably have been called an Academy of Music and Poetry, which would have been, however, a far less euphonious name.

Sappho was not the only famous woman in Lesbos, although she was the most renowned. It was the custom there in her time for women to form societies for the cultivation of music and poetry. This was also the practice in Sparta, where societies of women for the purpose of study existed in very early days, as Sparta always differed

from Athens in the prominence given to women, for Athenian women in that age were kept in strict seclusion, and we seldom find the name of any individual woman who was distinctly an Athenian mentioned in history or literature.

Her school may be characterized as one of the first literary salons, and its aim was to combine harmony and beauty in expression of thought. The adjective "mousopoloi" signified "dedicated to the service of the Muses." In later times a school which was publicly dedicated to the Muses was called a "Thiasos."¹ Such an association was exempt from taxation and the control of the state as belonging distinctly to the religious life of the people. Plato's Academy was provided with a charter of this kind, and the example of the Academy was followed by other schools established later in Athens and in other places. We cannot be sure that this custom existed as early as the time of

Sappho, although the school of Pythagoras in Crotona, Southern Italy, is supposed by some to have taken the form of a *Thiasos*, that is, an association held together in a religious bond, and possessing rights equivalent to those which we now embody in a charter. Pythagoras came from Samos, an island not far from Mitylene, and lived not more than a century later than Sappho, therefore it is possible that the formal dedication of learning to the Muses was an early custom in that part of the Greek world, where the strongest monuments of poetry and religion had their origin. Sappho's school may have been an official "*Thiasos*," according to the fragment of her writing which refers to the fact that it was dedicated to the Muses; there is no presumption, however, as to whether the dedication was public or official in character. The fragment is as follows:—

“For loud wailing in a house of those devoted

to the Muses is not reverent. Such things befit us not."

That some connection between learning and religion already existed is certainly shown by this fragment. Such a connection was very decidedly emphasized, as time went on among the Greeks, in their schools of poetry and philosophy, until it came to be definitely and publicly recognized and provided for, under the form of the charter before mentioned.

It is evident that the dark-eyed sylphs who came to Sappho to be taught formed a kind of æsthetic club, and that they received instruction which qualified them to appear in festivals sacred to the gods. They were also taught to be graceful in appearance and manner, and to compose music and poetry. The group of women with Sappho as their centre suggested to the ancients the circle around Sokrates.² The names of fourteen of Sappho's pupils have been preserved. Most of them were from the mainland of Ionia

and the surrounding islands, but one at least was from Greece.

They formed in reality a religious society dedicated to the worship of Aphrodite. In one of Sappho's fragments she calls those associated with her "hetæraë," a word which later had a disgraceful meaning attached to it when applied to women, but in early times was used especially in connection with the worship of Aphrodite in a professional sense, in both the masculine and feminine form for men and women associates in that cult.³ The word was used later for men only, to designate the members of an officially established school.⁴ The standard of the teaching in the House of the Poets must have been considered very high, for Sappho's metres have been copied, her use of words quoted, and her phrases admired, in all subsequent ages. We can well understand that it would be thought a very desirable thing by parents of that time to send their



SAPPHO

From the bust in the Uffizi, Florence

daughters if possible to Mitylene to study under her, just as later in the age of Cicero Roman youths went to Athens, often at a great sacrifice, to study there in the schools of philosophy. The fragments recently discovered of Sappho throw a new light on her school and confirm the statement that she was the leader of a band of literary women, both students and other poets, between whom there existed a strong affection.

There were other similar schools in the city of Mitylene in Sappho's day. One of these was conducted by Andromeda, who had been her friend and pupil, but who left her to found a rival institution. For this desertion Sappho says that she was well paid in the line :—

"Now Andromeda has a fair reward."

Sappho also ridicules her manner of dress as follows :—

"What country girl in her simple dress bewitches

thy thought, who does not know how to lift up her costly garment about her ankles.”

This fragment is quoted by a later author to illustrate the care which the ancients bestowed on dress. The name of Sappho's other rival was Gorgo, of whom she says:—

“In truth they were exceedingly weary of Gorgo.”

There may have been other schools of music and poetry in Lesbos besides the three of which we know. The head of each would naturally wish her school to take precedence, and Sappho may have had many anxious hours before she gained the supremacy among them.

Suidas, in his biography, says that she had three friends whom she especially loved: Atthis, Telisippa, and Megara. Others mentioned are Anagora from Miletus, Gongyla from Colophon, Euneika from Salamis, and Hero from Gyara.

Atthis afterwards left Sappho's school to go to Andromeda. She says of this desertion :—

"The thought of me, Atthis, has become hateful to thee ; thou didst hover around Andromeda."

And again :—

"Once I loved thee, Atthis, long ago."

One of the newly discovered fragments of Sappho's writings speaks of Atthis and of her departure from the school. The fragment describes her regret at leaving and her promises to return, which for some unknown cause she was unable to keep. In speaking of two other pupils Sappho says :—

"Mnasidika is fairer of form than the delicate Gyrinno."

Many ancient writers refer to Anaktoria as one of her favourite pupils, as well beloved as Phædros was by Sokrates, but her name is not found in any of the existing fragments,

although one of the most important is thought to be addressed to her. This has been described as a love poem, and has been cited as proof against Sappho's character by some writers, who forget that the finished form of description of the emotions was part of the profession of a Greek poet. A careful study of the lines in question shows that Sappho has been misjudged in this as well as in other poems. The words do not describe love at all, but the unhappiness occasioned by the loss of the affection of her friend was of so deep a nature that its full expression required a stronger use of language than is at present the custom. We quote the poem in full :—

“Equal to the gods seems that man to me who sits face to face with thee, and hearkens near by to thy sweet tones and enticing laughter, which make even my heart flutter in my bosom. For whenever I look at thee but a moment my voice fails me, my tongue breaks down, and in a moment a delicate glow has suffused my skin ; with my eyes I see not, and my ears ring. Moisture pours out

everywhere and trembling takes full hold of me. I am paler than grass, and I seem in my madness to lack little of death."

The style of this poem is similar to that of a fragment from the writings of Archilochos, which is as follows :—

"Hapless and lifeless and deep in love am I, pierced through my bones by the will of the gods, with grievous pains. For such passion for love hath slipped into my heart, and hath shed deep gloom over my eyes, stealing my tender heart from my breast."

It was part of Sappho's profession, as the head of her school, to write poetry and to teach her pupils how to compose, and such poems were perhaps intended to serve as models in giving a concrete expression to the deeper emotions.

One of her pupils was noted for her skill in athletics. We know this from the line :—

"I was the teacher of Hero, the swift runner from Gyara."

Gyara was a small island near the

island of Andros, from which Sappho's husband is supposed to have come. Girls may have practised in the gymnasium with the boys in Lesbos as they did in Sparta, and as they are known to have done in the island of Chios in the same age.⁵

Besides being at the head of the school of poetry in the House of the Poets, Sappho had a second profession, that of writing wedding-songs.⁶ These songs were apparently very popular, as they form a large part of the fragments which we have of her writings. It has been impossible thus far to discover what the relation was in her time between literary production and financial remuneration. We cannot say whether she amassed the wealth of which she speaks in a newly discovered fragment, or whether her genius was freely given with fame as her only reward. There was always a conflict in the Greek world of letters between those who sold their learning and those who

considered wisdom beyond price. In Pindar's time, in the fifth century B.C., it was a common practice to write for pay. This was done by Simonides, and by Bakchylides, his nephew, at the court of Hiero in Syracuse. Simonides says in defence of the custom that riches are greater than learning, for the wise stand at the gates of the rich. Pindar, however, draws an elaborate contrast between the good old poets of yore, who strove for glory, and those of his day who served a hireling muse. In Sokrates' time, nearly a century later, the Sophists were scorned by Sokrates, and by many others of the so-called wise because they taught for money.

There are two reasons for thinking that Sappho had some kind of utilitarian aim in her work. The first is the systematized form of what she offers to the public, together with the fact that other schools of the same kind existed in the city of Mitylene for the same purpose. The second is the uncon-

scious character of her work. One does not feel in reading the fragments of her poems that she is thinking about literary achievement, and this would indicate some other aim. It may be that she gained a livelihood thereby, or possibly it was ambition for the success of her school that was her motive. The same unconscious character appears in Shakespeare's work. He seemed to put his plays together as Sappho did her verses, for what they would bring into his own life, without a thought of the rich inheritance which he was leaving to the world. But, whatever may have been Sappho's aim in her "House of the Poets," she was a woman who may justly be called great, and of whom Strabo says :—

"Sappho was a marvel. In all history you will find no woman who can compare with her even in the slightest degree."

CHAPTER VI

THE WORK OF SAPPHO

SAPPHO stands at the head of the Æolian lyrists. The world has suffered no greater literary loss than that of her poems, as the smallest fragments of her work are wonderful. Her genius is beyond question, yet the perfection of her art must have been due partly to her education. She could probably read and write, and she was well acquainted with the geography of the world of her own time.

The lyric poetry of the Greeks was wholly different from the printed and read lyrics of the present day in its especial appeal to the ear.¹ This was shown in its close connection with music, and in the careful study of har-

mony in rhythmical sounds in the lines. When Sappho composes she calls upon her lyre for help:—

“Come, divine shell, lift up thy voice, I pray.”

She does not in the most distant manner refer to a pen or to writing materials, yet the knowledge of writing had even then its value in education. The art of writing was used for literary purposes before it was employed for official records, and as early as the ninth century B.C. the poets of Ionia and of the islands of the Ægean were, more or less, as the case may have been, familiar with its use.² In Sappho's time writing was practised both by law-makers and by poets to preserve their works. The writing of poetry was probably, however, a formal affair and unusual, while the ordinary method of learning the poetry of others would not be by slowly deciphering their writings, but by listening to the recitations which furnished the literary entertainments of



BRONZE RECLINING FIGURE SUPPOSED TO REPRESENT SAPPHO
New in the British Museum

that age. A part of Sappho's education was without doubt learning to repeat the poems of Homer, Hesiod, Stesichoros, Arion, Archilochos, Terpander, and others, by listening as they were recited.

She must have studied expression carefully, as she was often quoted by rhetoricians as an authority on the use and meaning of words. In fact, she was not only well educated according to the methods of her time, but her education was not slight even when measured by modern standards. Her knowledge of the rules of poetry was of the first order, and her works were considered authoritative in poetic construction.

She wrote in varied styles, using many different metres. There are at least fifty of these in the small number of fragments which we possess of her poems.³ She invented a metre which has done honour to her memory during all the ages since, and even now is one of

the most harmonious in lyric poetry. Of the great lyric poets of ancient times only nine were considered perfect models, and among these Sappho took the lead. The odes of Alkaios and Sappho were written in short, simple stanzas. It was an early form of song or ballad, in which the repetition of rhythmical expression produced a certain pleasant monotony, easy to understand and easy to remember. Lyric poetry, as the name indicates, was usually accompanied by the lyre, rather than by any other form of the stringed instruments of the time. The simplest lyre was made of tortoise-shell with a goat's horn on each side, fastened together at the top by a cross-piece. Sappho's had five or seven strings. She was the first to use a plectrum with the right hand, while she struck the strings directly with the left.

We see in her work the influence of the two men whom she especially

studied, Terpander of Mitylene and Archilochos of the neighbouring island of Paros. Although both of these poets lived long before her time, and possibly neither of them had left their complete works in writing, yet their poetry was much better known than at present, as the old songs, especially when accompanied by music, were preserved in the memories of the people for generations. Terpander was Sappho's model in the blending of poetry with music, by which she sought a twofold medium of expression. Archilochos' mastery of words was so complete that a study of his works was naturally of great value to Sappho in producing that wonderful harmony between thought and form which is exemplified in all her poetry. She must also have been greatly stimulated and influenced by association with her fellow lyricist, Alkaios, her older contemporary, who lived in the same city, and who strove for the same poetical ideals. She herself, however, was the

greater of the two, for her expression is more complete and her thoughts are purer and higher. The beauty and originality of her style lies in its simplicity, and she surpassed Alkaïos in richness and tenderness of rhythm.

All of our knowledge of Sappho's poems has come down to us through quotations in the writings of others. There are one hundred and six authentic fragments of her writings in Bergk's anthology, and besides these there are others, the genuineness of which is questioned by the critics. New fragments have been found among the manuscripts discovered in Egypt but most of them are greatly mutilated and the work of restoring and interpreting them is still going on. We are waiting for the literary resources of the libraries at Herculaneum to be restored to the world to find the solution of many problems connected with the poems of Sappho, although of course a full edition of her works can hardly be expected.

The full description of new fragments found is given from time to time in the "Berliner Klassiker" texts, the "Classical Review," and other publications. Of these fragments there are now six, which have been edited by Mr. J. M. Edmonds, of Cambridge, England. Mr. Edmonds has restored the text when possible by a careful study. He has in some places supplied words that the text suggests as the completion of phrases. The first of these fragments is addressed to the Nereids, and refers to Sappho's brother, Charaxos, who had been freed from his connexion with Rhodopis. In this poem Sappho prays the Nereids to fulfil her brother's wishes and bring him safely home. She expresses the hope that he may not prove himself useless, but may correct his former faults, and give his friends joy and his enemies pain. She also desires him to gain honour for himself in the future, which shall be reflected upon her, and to be comforted

for the sad events of the past, and to forget the sorrow of his heart when he had to listen to hard, sickening words that cut deep into his flesh; hurts which passed away after a short time only to reappear again. Sappho receives the home-coming wanderer with open arms, and pictures the past forgotten and an honoured place for him among his fellow-townsmen. Some of these fragments throw light upon her friendship with Atthis and the customs which existed in the "House of Poets." Sappho's poems, it is believed, were preserved intact until after the third century of our era. Athenæos, who wrote about that time, declared that he

"Had learned by heart completely all the songs that sweetest Sappho sang."

It is said that copies of her poems were burned in Constantinople in A.D. 380, some years after the famous Council of Nikæa, and it is possible that her poems were burned on other

occasions in that city, as there was an eclipse of the best ancient literature after the closing of the schools of philosophy by Justinian in the sixth century A.D. ; for, as the Christian church grew in power, classical literature was supplanted by ecclesiastical writings, and much that was most beautiful in early Greek literature did not survive the general neglect. In 1073 Sappho's works were publicly burned in both Rome and Constantinople under Pope Gregory VII.⁴

Sappho's poetry belongs to the personal literature of the age in which she lived, and this is very much emphasized by the fact that she wrote in the dialect of the common people of Lesbos. The Æolic is in many respects the sweetest of all the Greek dialects, and is much easier to understand by those familiar with modern Greek than the mixture of dialects in the Homeric poems. Sappho's language is very simple and expressive. When the hyacinth is

crushed by the shepherd on the mountain-side :—

“The dark, gleaming flower lies on the ground.”

What could be more expressive than her description of the daybreak as :—

“The golden-sandalled Dawn.”

She says that “Slumber streams through quivering leaves,” as follows :—

“And round about there falls a murmur of cool water through apple-boughs, and slumber streams through quivering leaves.”

She sees the

“[God of Love] coming from heaven clad in a purple mantle.”

We do not find in her poems any great moral earnestness or ardour for a noble cause. Possibly her words might have echoed a more heroic strain had



A COUNTRY HOUSE IN MITYLENE

she lived a few years earlier, when the struggles of which Alkaios wrote were still raging in Mitylene. Her songs were written in a time of peace, and her themes were love, religion, friendship, and philosophy. In Lesbos prosperity reigned as never before, and the tone of the fragments indicates the improvement in social and moral conditions which had taken place under Pittakos. Commerce and agriculture flourished, life and property were protected, and art and religion were promoted. Her poems express her own inner life, more than is often the case in either prose or poetry, even among the Greeks. They represent the eternally good and speak of health and beauty, love and joy. They were never given a place in the religious poetry of the Greeks, although there were among them hymns to the gods. They occupied rather a position by themselves, unique in the history of Greek literature.

The wedding song fills an important place in Sappho's writings, which is a further proof that she wrote in a time of peace, for if a majority of the young men of the island had been engaged in war, either at home or abroad, she would not have been called upon to such an extent, as seems to have been the case, to carry on this phase of her profession. These songs she composed and sang to her lyre, or taught to the choruses of men and women who accompanied the wedding processions. The wedding songs were usually written for a chorus. In some of them there were two choruses, one for girls and one for boys, and at the end of each strophe there was a joyful refrain that added much to the effect of the song.

These songs contributed largely to the misconception⁵ which has existed regarding the character of Sappho. Many who read them do not realize their purpose, and do not understand that they were written to express the

emotions of various brides and bridegrooms at their own wedding feasts. For this reason Pausanias⁶ says that Sappho has sung many things about Eros which do not harmonize with one another. The misunderstanding arose largely from the fact that collections of her poems in ancient times were arranged according to their metre rather than according to the subject matter, and therefore many of the wedding-songs were no longer recognized as such. Sappho did not herself arrange her poems in books but the Alexandrian grammarians did so, dividing them into nine works, and Aristophanes of Byzantium made a similar collection in the third century B.C., arranging them according to the metre. In these divisions no attention whatever was paid to the subject matter.

Sappho's bridal hymns were famous and there was evidently great demand for them, and she was the first to raise the epithalamium to its place in the

realm of poetry. Songs were required at three different times during a wedding celebration in Lesbos. The wedding-day was often in the winter month of Gamelion, and near the time of the full moon. Toward evening the bridegroom, attended by his family, appeared at the house of the bride. Sacrifices were offered to the gods of marriage, and then followed the banquet, at which the first song was given. After the banquet and the libations which succeeded it, the bride was taken to her new home in a chariot. A crowd of relatives followed, throwing flowers into the chariot, and again songs were sung, accompanied by the cithara and flute. On reaching the future abode of the bride, songs were sung under her window, or before the door of her room, by choruses of girls and youths, who danced and sang together, and sometimes the bride herself took part in the singing.

The fragments of Sappho's wedding



GREEK PEASANT GIRL IN LESBOS

songs show us her genius in this direction :—

“Be joyful, bride. Be very joyful, noble bridegroom.”

To a bride :—

“Graceful is thy form, and thine eyes . . . love also honey-sweet is spread over thy darling face. Aphrodite has honoured thee above others.”

To a bridegroom :—

“Happy bridegroom, now is thy wedding accomplished, as thou didst pray, and thou hast the maiden, the object of thy prayers.”

In addition to the wedding songs, Sappho wrote a number of short songs which were intended to be sung after dinner, called *scholia*, the form of which was invented by Terpander. After a feast the lyre was passed around with the wine, for one after another to use in accompanying short songs for the entertainment of the guests. *Scholia* were written by many of the ancient poets,

and must have added greatly to the entertainment at feasts. Sappho also wrote on some practical subjects in works that are lost, for she is referred to by Pausanias as an authority for the statement that gold suffers from rust like all other metals, but can be purified from it.⁷

Her hymns to the gods were very strong and beautiful. In her prayers she seems conscious of the close sympathy of the gods and she insisted on all outward expressions of respect to them. Her hymn to Aphrodite is the largest fragment of her writings which we possess, and the devout spirit in which it is rendered makes it worthy of a place among the consecrated poems of the world. The first word of this prayer has puzzled every one who has attempted to render the poem into modern language. The various translations of the word show how impossible it is to interpret Sappho's writings aright, without knowing something of

the conditions by which she was surrounded. The word, which is "poikilothron," has been variously translated as "broidered throned," "glittering throned," "throne of divers colours," and so on. The literal translation of the word is "variegated," and as variegated marble was found in the island of Lesbos, it furnishes a simple explanation. Sappho's verses were merely pictures of her own experiences, and she worshipped Aphrodite, and imagined her on a throne of the variegated marble of her own island, which she evidently considered very beautiful.

"Undying Aphrodite, on thy throne of variate marble, Daughter of Zeus, weaver of wiles, I pray thee subdue not my soul, O Queen, with sorrow nor with weariness; but hither come, if ever in other times hearing my voice thou didst give ear to me from afar, and leaving thy father's house of gold didst come with chariot ready yoked. And beautiful swift sparrows brought thee over the black earth, plying their rapid wings from heaven, through the midst of the ether.

"And swiftly they came, and thou, O blessed one, smiling with thy immortal face didst ask what

aieth me again—what do I most wish in my frenzied soul.”

(APHRODITE *speaks.*)

“Whom dost thou again wish that Peitho should lead to thy friendship? Who does thee injustice, O Sappho? For if she flees, soon shall she follow; and if she takes not gifts, gifts she yet shall give. If she loves not, quickly shall she love, even though unwillingly.”

(SAPPHO *speaks.*)

“Come, I pray thee, even now, and free me from heavy care, and whatever my desire yearns to do, do thou. Be thou thyself my helper.”

We find her greatest delicacy of expression in her descriptions of nature, which reveal in every word the charm and beauty of Lesbos. Of her poems of this kind the two fragments given below are considered the most beautiful, although both were probably part of a wedding song.

“Evening, thou that bringest all, whatever the light-giving dawn scattered; thou bringest the sheep, thou bringest the goat, thou bringest the child [back] to its mother.”

"As the sweet apple reddens on the end of the bough, high on the highest branch, the gatherers overlooked it; nay, did not overlook, but could not reach it."

Among the fragments newly discovered, there occur also the following lines, which well illustrate Sappho's wonderful touch :—

"And those things are not unknown to thee and to me, for night, the many-eared, sings of them to us across the dividing sea."

Sappho's poems are usually characterized by uninformed and careless critics as erotic, wholly overlooking the fact that of the one hundred and six fragments which we possess, sixteen are of a philosophical type. This is a large proportion when we remember how few philosophical teachings belonging to that age are still in existence. Philosophy was not then systematized, but was bodied forth in the sayings of the Seven Wise Men, most of whom were Sappho's contemporaries, and by

others, who expressed their thoughts on ethical subjects in the form of proverbs. These sayings of Sappho are, however, the spontaneous expression of intuitive wisdom rather than of carefully formulated ideas. For example:—

“He who is fair is [only] fair to look upon, but he who is good will soon be fair also.”

“I would not exchange my mind for your beauty, fair maids.”

“When anger is spreading in the breast, keep thy tongue from idle bickering.”

“For to whomsoever I do good they harm me most.”

“Some I am sure will remember us even hereafter.”

“But thou shalt lie dead, there shall never be any remembrance of thee, nor yet [affection] hereafter, because thou hast no share in the roses of Pieria; but thou shalt go to and fro unnoticed in the house of Hades, flitting among the dusky dead.”

This last vivid and prophetic fragment



SAPPHO

From the bust in the Villa Albani, Rome



was addressed to a woman without wisdom.

The Greeks gave the title of Muses to their nine most distinguished poetesses, among whom were both Sappho and Erinna. Sappho is called the "Tenth Muse," and Antipater of Thessalonika, in the first century B.C., said of Sappho that she was

"The pride and choice of Lesbian dames, supreme among women, as was Homer among men."

It is to be regretted that only the poetic aspect of Sappho's genius has been preserved, as the proper presentation of her poetry necessitates the musical accompaniment, and in many cases the movements of the dance and the singing of the choruses, which not only accompanied the wedding songs, but were also used in the religious processions and ceremonies in the temples. She is described by an ancient author as leading a religious dance in the grove

of Juno in Lesbos, having a golden lyre in her hands.⁸ The description is poetic, yet it has a realistic side, as it is in harmony with the customs of the time.

It is said that Solon, hearing his nephew singing one day, asked him who was the author of the song. The youth replied that it was one of Sappho's poems, and Solon was so much impressed with its beauty that he exclaimed: "Let me not die before I have learned it."⁹

CHAPTER VII

SAPPHO IN LITERATURE

LET us now briefly consider the influence of Sappho's writings upon the literature of the world. It is not only in later Greek poetry that we find the charm of the atmosphere of her work reproduced, but Latin poetry also reveals the impress of her genius to a marked degree; through the Latin poets we trace her influence on the various Romance languages of Europe in the thought and manner of expression of their lyric poets. There has never been a period in literature when she was wholly forgotten, and since the days of the Renaissance her poems have been considered worthy of the most careful attention by prominent scholars in various European countries, especially

in France. The fragments have been used again and again by students of Greek as the last authority in determining questions of metre and style, the meaning of words, expression of emotions, methods of reasoning, and even ethical and religious ideals.

A remarkable thing about her writings is that they have never been unfavourably criticized. However she may have been regarded as an individual, she was always held in reverence as a writer, and was tacitly, at least, understood to be an authority in the art of poetry.

Aristotle, in his "Rhetoric," refers to her three times. He quotes her first in his chapter on things that are honourable, from an ethical point of view, and gives as an illustration her address to Alkaïos ¹ :—

"If thou hadst desired things good and fair, and had not thy tongue stirred up some evil speech, diffidence had not filled thine eyes, but thou hadst spoken concerning what is just."

In his second reference he says that all

pay honour to the wise, whatever the circumstances may be, and illustrates this point by the statement that the people of Chios honoured Homer, although he was not of their island, and that the "Mitylenians honoured Sappho, although she was a woman."² In his third reference, regarding reasoning by induction, he said that Sappho insisted that:—

"To die was an evil, the gods having so decided, since had it not been so they themselves would have died."³

This fragment is not in Bergk's collection, because it is quoted as a sentiment, and not literally.

Sappho apparently stood high in the Lyceum, and one of the pupils of Aristotle wrote a book on her poetry. This was Chamaileon, from Heraklea on the Black Sea.⁴ The book was lost, and with it a possible proof of what seems to have been the case, namely, that the estimate of Sappho's character in the Lyceum was higher than in later Greek

literature. This inference is supported by the respectful way in which Aristotle refers to her as an arbiter in other matters besides versification, such as ethical standards and logical reasoning. The favourable attitude of the Lyceum may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that Aristotle spent two years in Mitylene before he was invited by Philip of Macedon to become the tutor of Alexander, and also by the further fact that Theophrastos, the immediate successor of Aristotle in the Lyceum, was born at Eresos, the birthplace of Sappho.⁵ Both Aristotle and Theophrastos would thus share in the enthusiasm of the Lesbians for their most famous poet.

Sappho's poems were imitated by Damophyle, a lyric poetess in Pamphilia, who also had a school of poetry, and who wrote poems and hymns; while Diotima, the real or mythical teacher of Sokrates, of whom so little is known, held similar ideas to those of Sappho.

Dionysios of Harlikarnassos, the typical rhetorician and champion of refined taste, has preserved for us Sappho's beautiful ode to Aphrodite, and the so-called Longinus has given us the other of the two longer fragments, the ode to a friend, as an example of poetic sublimity. We owe some fragments to Hephæstion from Alexandria, in his treatise on Greek prosody, and some to the celebrated rhetorician Hermogenes. Many of the rhetoricians and poets of the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. were pleased to steal here and there from Sappho's poems expressions and phrases to adorn their style. She is mentioned by the Church Fathers, Clement of Alexandria and Tatian. Strabo speaks of a certain Kallios from Lesbos, who wrote a commentary on Sappho, and Alexander the Sophist used to lecture on her poems, and there were many writers who wrote at length regarding her metres, especially among those who

siders himself the first to truly imitate Æolian songs. The metre which Sappho invented was copied by him, and by this means the lyric poetry of the Romans was brought to a higher plane. He uses the Sapphic metre nearly thirty times. He says in substance:—

“I shall be called the first that fitted Æolia’s lyric songs to Italian measures—for the love and the art of the Æolian maid still live.”

The poems of Horace show much of the old Greek grace, and even some of the fire, although he spoke through the colder medium of the Latin language. He cannot be called a poet in the sense in which Sappho was, yet he entered into the meaning, if not the rhythm, of Greek poetry in some ways more deeply than any other Roman. Horace tells us that it was the simplicity of the Sapphic metre that attracted him. In the first century B.C. Sappho was quite the rage among Roman women, and ignorance of her verses stamped a matron of that time as illiterate.⁶

In the Latin renaissance the poems of Sappho were a revelation to those who read them, and an inspiration to greater things. In the Augustan age, Roman youths from families of culture were sent to Athens to study in the schools of philosophy, and a knowledge of the Greek language and literature was considered essential to a good education. The simple language used by the Æolian poets, and especially by Sappho, made her work easily accessible and comprehensible to the Romans. To this period belongs the heroic epistle of Ovid, "Sappho to Phaon," which has been previously referred to in connexion with the myth regarding Phaon. Among other Romans who were influenced by Sappho was Lucretius⁷ the Epicurean, who, in his poem, "De Rerum Natura," describes fear in almost the same words as those used by Sappho in picturing emotional excitement.

From a moral point of view the age of Horace did Sappho great injustice,

but she seems to have been even more misjudged in a later age, that might be called her second renaissance. To this period belongs Domitius Calderini, a man whose knowledge of her life was limited, and who had insufficient data upon which to base his judgment. Bayle, in England, in the seventeenth century, held a similar false conception. The conditions of her life puzzled him, and like many others he assumed that what he could not understand must necessarily be evil.

The conception of the Latin writers⁷ in regard to Sappho has been until quite recently accepted without question by the greater part of the literary world, and it is only in recent times that the many translations of ancient Greek writers have facilitated a comparatively critical study of the writings of the Greek poetess, and brought about a juster estimate of her work.

The first to give the world a true idea of her personality were Pro-

fessor Tanaquil Faber, of the University of Saumur, and his daughter, Madame Anna Dacier, in the seventeenth century. Both father and daughter expressed in their writings the belief in the honest character of Sappho. In 1816, Professor F. A. Welcher took up the subject in his distinguished publication entitled "Sappho von einem herrschenden Vorurteil befreit."⁸ Welcher's arguments were so logical, and his knowledge so extensive, that his estimate of her did much to establish a juster understanding of her personal worth consistent with the customs of her age and the facts of her life so far as they can be ascertained.

The list of authors in different nations who have written about her is a long one, for although the world may have misunderstood her, it has never neglected her. She appears in modern literature in many fantastic shapes, often as the theme of suggestive dramas, in which no attention has been given to the facts of her life. Such dramas and poems may



A COUNTRY LANE 'MIDST OLIVE GROVES, MITYLENE

be suggestive, for the reason that while they do not in any sense represent the real Sappho, they show her potentiality in literature. Among English writers, Swinburne has best succeeded in imitating the metre which she invented.

In his valuable and scholarly work on Sappho, Henry Thornton Wharton has collected and translated the fragments, and has added many of the beautiful paraphrases of the English poets.

In closing, we give the "Evening Fragment" as imitated and elaborated by Byron at the end of the third canto of "Don Juan," and a short paraphrase by Swinburne of the famous hymn to Aphrodite, and the closing lines of the same hymn as rendered also by Frederick Tennyson, who has admirably succeeded in reproducing the spirit.

"EVENING FRAGMENT.

"Evening, thou that bringest all, whatever the light-giving dawn scattered ; thou bringest the sheep, thou bringest the goat, thou bringest the child [back] to its mother."

Imitated by Byron :—

“O Hesperus, thou bringest all good things—
 Home to the weary, to the hungry cheer,
 To the young birds the parent's brooding wings,
 The welcome stall to the o'erlaboured steer ;
 Whate'er of peace about our heartstone clings,
 Whate'er our household gods protect of dear,
 Are gathered round us by thy look of rest ;
 Thou bring'st the child, too, to its mother's
 breast.”

Swinburne's paraphrase of the first part of the hymn to Aphrodite is as follows :—

“O thou of divers-coloured mind, O thou
 Deathless, God's daughter subtle souled, lo now,
 Now to the songs above all songs, in flight
 Higher than the day star's height,
 And sweet as sound the moving wings of night !
 Thou of the divers-coloured seat—behold
 Her very song of old ! . . .
 O deathless, O God's daughter subtle souled.’

And the closing lines of the hymn by Frederick Tennyson :—

“Come to me, what I seek in vain
 Bring thou ; into my spirit send
 Peace after care, balm after pain ;
 And be my friend.”

CHAPTER VIII

THE FRAGMENTS

THE translation is based on the text of the Hiller-Crusius edition of Bergk's "Anthologia Lyrica" of 1907. Any conjectural rendering in text or translation is bracketed. The numbers of the fragments are the same as those of the text. The newly discovered fragments are added.

I

RELIGION

The first thirteen of the following Fragments refer to Aphrodite.

Undying Aphrodite on thy throne of
variate marble, Daughter of Zeus, ^I
weaver of wiles, I pray thee subdue not ^{Prayer}

my soul, O Queen, with sorrow nor with weariness ; but hither come if ever in other times hearing my voice thou didst give ear to me from afar, and leaving thy father's house of gold didst come with chariot ready yoked. And beautiful swift sparrows brought thee over the black earth, plying their rapid wings from heaven, through the midst of the ether.

And swiftly they came, and thou, O blessed one, smiling with thy immortal face didst ask what aileth me again, what do I most wish in my frenzied soul.

(APHRODITE *speaks.*)

Whom dost thou again wish that Peitho should lead to thy friendship? Who does thee injustice, O Sappho? For if she flees, soon shall she follow ; and if she takes not gifts, gifts she yet shall give. If she loves not, quickly shall she love, even though unwilling.

(SAPPHO *speaks.*)

Come to me now also, and free me
from heavy care, and whatever my
desire yearns to do, do thou. Be thou
thyself my helper.

I talked with her who was born in 85
Kypros [Cyprus] in my dream.

And leather wrought in many colours 17
covered her feet, of fair Lydian work.

Come, Goddess of Kypros, pouring 5
out into golden cups nectar delicately
mixed with good cheer.

Would that I might win this very lot. 8
O golden-crowned Aphrodite !

But to thee [I will offer] upon the 7
[altar] the white goat's [kid] . . . and
I will pour out a libation to thee.

Purple veils handwrought [to cover 14
the long hair], even these I pray thee do

not despise, the precious gifts which I
sent from Phokaia.

56 Aphrodite's maid of honour, gleaming
with gold.

74 (*To* APHRODITE.)

Thou and also my attendant Eros.

103 i She called him her son.

42 Come [now], divine shell lift up thy
voice, I pray.

59 Sappho, why [sing always] of Aphro-
dite, rich in blessings.

6 Or Kypros or Paphos or Panormos
[claim] thee.

77 Do thou, O Dika, bind thy lovely
tresses with crowns [of flowers] twining
tender shoots of fennel together, with
soft hands; for so is the sight fairer to
behold and grace sublime while men

Manner of
approach
to the
goddesses

turn away from those who have no
garlands.

Come hither, daughters of Zeus, rosy
armed, pure Graces. 67

Come hither, gentle Graces, come 103 c
hither [quickly]; long ago my heart
bounded.

Hither now, Muses, leaving [your] 83
golden [dwelling].

Come hither now, gentle Graces, and 61
the Muses with beautiful hair.

Who honoured me by giving me their
gifts. 9
Speaking
of the
Muses

O Muse of the golden throne, recite 21
that hymn which the glorious old man
from Teos, from the noble land of beau-
tiful women, used to sing so sweetly. Invoca-
tion

Alas for Adonis! 64

He is dying, O Kytheria, graceful 63

Adonis ; what shall we do? Beat your breasts, young girls, and rend your garments.

68 But Ares says he could carry off Hephaistos by force.

51 The moon rose full, and the women stood as though round an altar.

52 Thus once on a time the Kretan women used to dance in tune with tender feet round the fair altar.

53 Treading on the fine soft bloom of the grass.

II

PHILOSOPHY

32 He who is fair is [only] fair to look upon, but he who is good will soon be fair also.

79 Wealth without virtue is not a harmless housemate.

For loud wailing in a house of those 103 k
devoted to the Muses is not reverent.
Such things befit not us.

Some, I am sure, will remember us 27
even hereafter.

It does not seem to me difficult to 103 b
touch the sky.

I would not exchange my mind for 12
your beauty, fair maids

I am not of those who are sullen, but 73
I have a sweet temper.

I do not know what to do. I am of 31
two minds.

And I go with flying steps, as a child 36
follows its mother.

According to my weeping—may 14-15
winds and cares sweep off him that
leadeth astray.

11 For to whomsoever I do good they
harm me most.

22 When anger is spreading in the
breast, keep thy tongue from idle
bickering.

23 If thou hadst desired things good and
fair, and had not thy tongue stirred up
some evil speech, diffidence had not
filled thine eyes, but thou hadst spoken
concerning what is just.

70 I do not think that any maiden so
To the wise woman wise [as thou] shall ever in all time
to come see the light of the sun.

30 [Foolish girl, do not] exalt thyself
because of a ring.

To the woman without wisdom But thou shalt lie dead, there shall
never be any remembrance of thee, or
yet [affection] hereafter, because thou
hast no share in the roses of Pieria ;
but thou shalt go to and fro unnoticed

in the house of Hades, flitting among
the dusky dead.

If I must have a bee with honey, I 117
take neither.

III

FRIENDSHIP

Equal to the gods seems that man 2
to me who sits face to face with thee ^{To a girl}
and hearkens near by to thy sweet ^{friend}
tones and enticing laughter, which
makes even my heart flutter in my
bosom. For whenever I look at thee
but a moment my voice fails me, my
tongue breaks down, and in a moment
a delicate glow has suffused my skin,
with my eyes I see not, and my ears
ring. Moisture pours out everywhere,
and trembling takes full hold of me.
I am paler than grass, and I seem in
my madness to lack little of death.

I wish thee many joys, O daughter 24
of Polyanax.

28 Once I loved thee, Atthis—long
ago.

29 Thou didst then seem to me a girl,
small, and without grace.

26 Leto and Niobe were companions,
very dear.

39 The thought of me, Atthis, has be-
come hateful to thee, thou dost hover
around Andromeda.

60 And of me thou dost not hold re-
membrance.

58 Now, Andromeda has a fair reward.

45 In truth they were exceedingly weary
of Gorgo.

76 More disdainful than thou, Erinna,
have I never chanced to meet.

81 And thou thyself Calliope.

75 Mnasidika is fairer of form than the
delicate Gyrinno.

Mayst thou sleep in the bosom of thy 82
delicate girl friend.

IV

LOVE

Now again relaxing love shakes me, 38
a creeping thing—sweet, bitter, irre-
sistible.

Coming from heaven clad in a purple 66
mantle. Supposed
to be
Eros

Sweet mother, I cannot weave my 88
web, I am overcome with longing for
a youth, at tender Aphrodite's will.

Eros has shaken our heart like a wind 35
down the mountain falling upon the
oaks.

My friend thou art, but choose a 47
younger mate, for I, an older woman,
cannot endure to be wedded with thee.

What country girl in her simple dress 71
bewitches thy thought, who does not

know how to lift up her costly garment
about her ankles.

84 A fair daughter is mine, with a form
like a golden flower, Kleis the beloved,
in place of whom nor all Lydia nor
lovely [Lesbos].

78 I love elegance, and for me, Love
has the brightness and the beauty of
the sun.

57 Stand face to face, friend, and let
the grace in thine eyes shine forth.

50 The moon has set, and the Pleiades ;
it is midnight, the time is going by, and
I rest alone.

v

WEDDING-SONGS

48-9 And there the bowl of ambrosia first
was mixed, and then Hermes took the
leathern flask to pour out for the gods ;
they then all held their oblong cups and

made libation, and wished the bridegroom good things in full measure.

And many . . . drinking-cups un- 34
numbered and flat bowls.

Girlhood, girlhood, whither dost thou 103
go leaving me? Never again shall I be
[thy] follower, never again.

Do I still eagerly desire girlhood? 98

The bride [is] rejoicing; let the bride- 99
groom rejoice.

Or thou lovest some other man more 20
than me.

Be joyful, bride; be very joyful, noble 101
bridegroom!

Happy bridegroom, now is thy 96
wedding accomplished as thou didst
pray, and thou hast the maiden, the
object of thy prayers.

For there was no other maiden, O 102
bridegroom, such as she.

19 Of all stars the fairest.

97 Graceful is thy form, and thine eyes
 . . . love, also honey-sweet is spread over
 thy darling face. Aphrodite has honoured
 thee above others.

62 A sweet-voiced maiden.

100 To what shall I appropriately com-
 pare thee, dear bridegroom? To a
 slender shoot I shall best compare
 thee.

89 High up the roof, Hymenaios!
 Raise, O master builders, Hymenaios!
 The bridegroom cometh in, the peer of
 Ares, far taller than a tall man.

94 We shall give, says the father.

95 The doorkeeper has feet seven
 fathoms long, and sandals of the skins
 of five oxen, which it took ten cobblers
 to make.

Satire
on a
rustic
wedding

91 As the sweet apple reddens on the

end of the bough, high on the topmost branch, the gatherers overlooked it; nay, did not overlook, but could not reach it.

As on the mountain-sides, the shepherds trample the hyacinth underfoot, and the dark gleaming flower lies on the ground. 92

Evening, thou that bringest all, whatever the light-giving dawn scattered; thou bringest the sheep, thou bringest the goat, thou bringest the child [back] to its mother. 93

Ever shall I be a maid. 103 a

VI

MISCELLANEOUS

Surpassing all, as the Lesbian singer among men of other lands. 90

I was the teacher of Hero, the swift runner from Gyara. 72

Gello, a
maiden
ghost
among
the
Greeks
who
carried
off
children

44 Fonder of children than Gello.

46 Of a costly royal [unguent].

10 Now shall I sing sweetly of those
things, and pleasant are they to my
companions.

103 g Burning us.

103 h A linen towel dripping.

VII

EPITAPHS

105 This is the dust of Timas, which, alas!
Persephone's black chamber received,
dead before her wedding; and when
she had pined away, all her comrades
laid aside with newly sharpened steel
the precious glory of their heads.

106 On the tomb of Pelagon the fisher-
man, his father Meniskos carved a
fishing-basket and an oar, memorials of
a life of hardship.

104 My companions, even though without

speech, I tell you [this] putting up as a memorial in the path of anyone who questions, a word that wearies not.

Arista, thy handmaiden, O queen of women, the daughter of Hermokleides, son of Saonaiades, dedicated me to Aithopia, daughter of Leto; and this may it please thee to graciously accept and to give glory to our house.

VIII

NIGHT

I arrange the cushion. 80

While I upon a cushion soft comfortably arrange my limbs. 33

She wrapped herself well in delicate woolly garments. 87

Sleep, gift of the night, with dark eyes. 55

When night-long [sleep] o'ertakes them. 40

IX

NATURE

16 Me just now the golden-sandalled
dawn.

3 The stars around the fair moon again
veil their bright faces when she in all her
fullness shines silvery [on all] the earth.

37 A messenger of spring, the sweet-
voiced nightingale.

25 Golden peas were growing on the
shores.

92 As on the mountain sides, the shep-
herds trample the hyacinth underfoot,
and the dark gleaming flower lies on
the ground.

54 This maiden plaited garlands [when
the time for marriage came].

18 [She goes about] a blend of colours
of every sort.

43 And garlands of flowers wreathed in
many coils [around] her delicate neck.

They say that Leda once found an egg wrapped in a hyacinth. 65

Than an egg much whiter. 103 d

Their heart turned cold, and they dropped their wings. 13
Speaking of doves

Stir not the stones of the torrent. 103 f

And round about there falls a murmur of cool water through apple-boughs, and slumber streams through quivering leaves. 4

What [message do you bring] me, O lovely swallow, daughter of Pandion? 86

TRANSLATION OF THE NEWLY DISCOVERED FRAGMENTS

I

TO THE NEREIDS, A SONG OF RECONCILIATION

Golden Nereids grant to me that my brother arrive safely here, and that the wishes of his heart be fulfilled. Grant

him success in all those things in which he aforetime failed, and may he become a joy to his friends and a pain to his foes, and may no one be a disgrace to us. May he now choose his sister to share his honour, and as for the bitter pain and the words with which before in the sorrow of his soul he subdued my heart when he heard my song, which must have cut him to the quick, O grant that to the glory of his fellow-citizens he may forget what he left behind him when he soon returns again. And a companion, if he would, may he find among worthy maidens, and thou [Rhodopis] dark lynx, put thy nose to the ground and go elsewhere on thy hunt for vice.

II

A REBUKE, PROBABLY TO CHARAXOS

Therefore thou flittest to and fro with the notables, but not with the good and noble, and biddest thy friends go about

their business, and thou grieveest me with thy swelling heart, by saying that I am become a reproach to thee. For this insolence may thy heart be filled with loathing. I say this because my mind is not so softly disposed toward the wrath of children. Creep away nor . . .

III

A LAMENT FOR A LOST PUPIL

Atthis has not come back to me as I expected, and indeed I wish I were dead ; she who wept many tears as she left me, and said to me, "Alas ! How sad our fate. Nay, Sappho, against my will I leave thee." To her I answered, "Go away rejoicing, and remember me because thou knowest how I cared for thee. If not, I would fain remind thee of what thou forgettest, that is, how dear and beautiful were the things we enjoyed together. Thou who didst gird about thy locks, sitting by me, many

garlands of violets and roses sweet entwined, and about thy soft neck many woven wreaths fashioned of a hundred flowers, and with many a flask of myrrh both costly and royal thou hast anointed thy youthful skin, and, lying upon a low couch, thou satisfied thy desire with soft dainties and sweet drinks."

IV

SAPPHO'S FRIEND ACROSS THE SEA

Atthis thy friend and my friend Mnasidika dwell at Sardis far away, but she often bends her thoughts hither about the life which once we lived together, the while she thought thee like a glorious goddess and rejoiced most of all in thy song, but now she shines among the Lydian ladies as sometimes doth the rosy-fingered moon after sunset, among the surrounding stars when she holds her light over the salt sea, and likewise over the flower-

spangled fields, while the dew is spread abroad fair [to see] and roses bloom, and tender anthrinks and the sweet clover in full flower. And when, often wandering abroad, she remembers the gentle Atthis, and Fate devours her tender mind with the pain of desire, and shrilly she calls to us to go thither, and those things are not unknown to thee and to me, for night the many-eared sings of them to us across the sea that flows between.

V

A VISION

(GONGYLA *asked me.*)

“Now what sign wilt thou show thy daughters?” “In truth this,” I answered, “Hermes appeared to me as I saw him; I said, ‘O Lord, we are altogether lost, for by our blessed goddess I take no joy in being exalted overmuch by my wealth, but there hath seized me as it were a yearning to

die. Fain am I that thou shouldst set me in the dewy field where once thou didst bring Agamemnon the son of Atreus.' "

VI

A MORNING SONG

Sappho, if thou stayest there I will love thee no more, I swear. O shine forth for us, and from thy bed loosen thy beloved strength, and holding back thy Chian robe, wash thee with water even as the lily of the marsh by the river-bank. And Kleis shall cast down from thy wardrobe a saffron-coloured gown and a purple robe to put upon thee.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

- ¹ Herodotos, II, 134.
- ² Herodotos, I, 50 ; Athenæos *Deipnossophistæ*, I, 51.
- ³ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, Wilhelm von Christ, Munich, 1912, p. 147.
- ⁴ *Ath.*, XIV, 37.
- ⁵ Thukidydes, V, 70.
- ⁶ Herodotos, I, 25.
- ⁷ Pausanias, X, 16.
- ⁸ *Survey of Greek Civilization*, Mahaffy, p. 71.
- ⁹ Grote's *History of Greece*, XV, 230.
- ¹⁰ *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, Sir William Ramsay, p. 356.
- ¹¹ Thuk., VIII, 40.
- ¹² *Ath.*, IX, 77.
- ¹³ *Ath.*, III, 74.
- ¹⁴ *Ath.*, II, 8.

CHAPTER II

- ¹ Plutarch, *De Amoribus*, XVIII.
- ² Grote's *History of Greece*, XIV, 637.
- ³ Diogenes, Laertius, I, IV, 4.
- ⁴ Diog., Laert., I, IV, 3.

⁵ Diog., Laert., I, IV, 6.

⁶ Anthologia Lyrica, Hiller-Crusius edition, Solon, fr. 33.

⁷ Christ, Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur, p. 150.

⁸ Plato's Republic, III, 401.

⁹ Anthologia Lyrica, Terpander.

¹⁰ Herodotos, I, 12 ; Anthologia Lyrica, Archilochos, fr. 19.

¹¹ Aristotle, Politics, III, 9.

¹² Ath., I, 38.

¹³ Suidas, Sappho.

¹⁴ Wilamowitz Moellendorff, Private Correspondence.

¹⁵ Christ, Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur, p. 200.

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¹ Phædrus, 235.

² Strabo, 617.

³ Die antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos, von Robert Koldewey, Berlin, 1890, p. 11.

⁴ History of Greece, J. B. Bury, London, 1908, pp. 42, 43.

⁵ Koldewey, Antiken Baureste, p. 9.

⁶ Plutarch's Lives, Pompey.

⁷ Thukid., III, 2, 3 ; Koldewey, p. 11.

⁸ Ath., X, 24.

⁹ Koldewey, Antiken Baureste, p. 8.

¹⁰ Koldewey, Antiken Baureste, p. 12.

CHAPTER IV

¹ Suidas, Sappho ; Christ, Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur, pp. 196-7.

² Ath., III, 77.

³ Herodotos, II, 134.

⁴ Ath., XIII, 90.

⁵ Bernoulli, Griechische Ikonographie Erster Zeit, München, Bruckmann, 1901, pp. 49-69.

⁶ Catalogue of Greek Coins in British Museum, 1894, Introduction.

⁷ Aris., Rhet., II, 23.

⁸ Furtwängler, Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik, p. 103, note 4.

⁹ Pollux, IX, 84.

¹⁰ Cicero, Verr., IV, 57, 126.

¹¹ Ath., X, 24.

¹² Idem.

¹³ Herodotos, II, 135.

¹⁴ Marm. Parium, 36.

¹⁵ Suidas, Sappho.

¹⁶ Bury's History of Greece, p. 148.

¹⁷ Ath., XIV, 11.

CHAPTER V

¹ Ath., XII, 69 ; Diog., Laert., IV, 1, 3. Dio von Prusa, by Hans von Arnim, Berlin, 1898, p. 24. Compare Wilamowitz Moellendorff, Phil. Untersuchungen, Bd. IV.

² Maximus Tyrius, XXIV, 8 ; Ancient Greek Literature, Gilbert Murray, p. 92.

³ Ath., XIII, 28.

⁴ Christ, Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur, p. 164.

⁵ Ath., XIII, 20.

⁶ History of Classical Literature, Mahaffy, p. 20.

CHAPTER VI

¹ Geschichte der griechischen Lit., p. 146.

² Bury's History of Greece, p. 77.

³ Ancient Greek Literature, Gilbert Murray, p. 92.

⁴ Idem., p. 93.

⁵ Wilamowitz Moellendorff, Text Geschichte der griechischen Lyr., p. 71.

⁶ Pausanias, IX, 27.

⁷ Pausanias, VIII, 18.

⁸ Greek Anthology, CCCXCLI.

⁹ Stobaeos, Solon.

CHAPTER VII

¹ Aristotle, Rhet., I, 9.

² Idem, II, 23.

³ Idem, II, 23.

⁴ Ath., XIII, 72.

⁵ Ath., IX, 37.

⁶ Christ, Geschichte der griechischen Lit., p. 200.

⁷ Idem, p. 200.

⁸ Friedrich Gottlieb Welcher: "Sappho von einem herrschenden Vorurtheil befreit," p. 105.

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